CTS.

ines,

RB.

the ridge upon way, in a great red on that so-

EVERY FRIDAY MORNING. -AT-221 WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 8.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT. F TERMS - Two dollars and fifty cents per annum,

Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN HARS, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters re-

ating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be breeted (POST PAID) to the General Agent. Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per

The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penna Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are thorised to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Edmund ESON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant

with death, and an agreement with hell."

What order of men under the most absolute of

monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that

of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House,

in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential man-

sion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged

order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call govern-

ment thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the under-standing of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in

the language of national jurisprudence that can define it— no model in the records of ancient history, or in the politi-

cal theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It

was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Conven-

tion from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Meloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

ion of less than

VOL. XXXI. NO. 34.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1861.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

WHOLE NO. 1600.

and manufactures to the West Indies, in the year 1838, the year of emancipation, amounted to the sum of £3,393,441. In 1841, only three years after the Emancipation Act, it had decreased to £2,504,004; and in 1849, only reached the sum of £1,821,146. In 1838, Jamaica exported 69,613 hhds. sugar, 2,567,640 lbs. ginger, and 13,551,795 lbs. of coffee. In 1850, the exports had fallen to 36,030 hhds. of sugar, 729,276 lbs. of ginger, 3,127,255 lbs. of coffee; and in 1857, she exported 30,459 hhds. of sugar, 381,157 lbs. of ginger, and 7,095,623 lbs. of coffee. and in 1857, she exported 30,459 hhds. of sugar, 381,157 lbs. of ginger, and 7,095,623 lbs. of coffee, which shows conclusively that the productions of the Island have diminished more than one half since the Emancipation Act; and the legitimate conclusion to be drawn is, that if the negroes only produce one-half what they did before emancipation, they only have one-half the means to purchase British manufactures.

It may not be amiss to close this communication a short extract from the History of Europe, by Archibald Alison, the eminent English historian. No man is more jealous of the glory of England than be, and it is his boast, as well as of every other Englishman, that no slaves breathe the air upon the soil of England or her colonies. I quote from Vol. 3d of the 2d series, pages 142, 143:

"It is difficult to say whether the West India proprietors, the negro population in the islands, the sable inhabitants of Africa, or the manufacturers of the mother country, have suffered most from the the mother country, have suffered most from the change. It appears from pawliamentary returns that the produce of Jamaica, within three years after emancipation took effect, had decreased a third, and within ten years, that of the whole West Indies had fallen off a half. As might be expected, with so prodigious a decline in the produce of these once magnificent settlements, that the means these inhabitants enjoyed of purchasing comforts and luxuies, the exports of British manufactures and produce to the West Indies had diminished a half." Mr. Alison further says: "Disastrous as the results have been to the British interests, both at home and in the West Indies, they are nothing to those which the West Indies, they are nothing to those which have ensued to the negroes themselves. Generally speaking, the incipient civilization of the negro has been arrested by his emancipation; with the cessation of forced labor, the habits and tastes which non of forced labor, the habits and tastes which spring from and compensate it have disappeared, and savage habits and pleasures have resumed their ascendancy over the sable race. The attempts to mistruct and civilize them have, for the most part, proved a failure, the dolce far niente, equally dear to the unlettered savage as the effeminate European, has resumed its sway, and the emancipated Africans dispersed in the woods, or in cabins erected amidst the ruined plantations are fast relarging into the dispersed in the woods, or in cabins erected amidst the ruined plantations, are fast relapsing into the state in which their ancestors were, when torn from their native seats by the rapacity of Christian avariee. Negro emancipation has not failed because it was prompted by benevolent motives or directed to philanthropic ends, but because, in the prosecution of these ends, the lessons of experience and the observation of facts were utterly disregarded. The latter were brought before the people in the most forcible manner, but met with no sort of attention, the public mind being entirely carried away by the alluring phantom of DESTROYED SLAYERY. They made Phantom of DESTROYED SLAVERY. They made the savage free, without his having gained the facul-ty of self-direction; thence the failure of the whole asures, and the unutterable miseries with which

spinst the party spirit which yet burks among the conductors of the war, let the "policy of the "policy" of the people". — the adoption of the Crittenden Comprome,—be an object of unceasing effort.

We are not destitute of a proper regard for the chaing of any man who may have been not only the companion but the follower of Henry Clay; and the companion but the follower of Henry Clay; and why they, who in former years clung to the principles of that noble soul of 'the West, cannot now rally, and endorse the mediation of his best friend?

Journal of Commerce.

WEST INDIA EMANUPATION.

[From the Journal of Commerce.]

WEST INDIA EMANUPATION.

[From the Journal of Commerce.]

WEST INDIA EMANUPATION.

[From the Journal of Commerce.]

MESSIS. EDITORS.—Mr. Wendell Phillips, in an address delivered August 1st, represents the condition and circumstances of the negroes in the West Indies since Emancipations on entirely different formy, and the properties of the heavy of the state of the Absilition school; but a few of the facts, which are indignated by the fanatics of the Absilition school; but a few of the facts, which are indignated by the fanatics of the Absilition school; but a few of the facts, which are indignated by the fanatics of the Absilition school; but a few of the facts, which are indignated by the fanatics of the Absilition school; but a few of the facts, which are indignated by the fanatics of the Absilition school; but a few of the facts, which are indignated by the fanatics of the Absilition school; but a few of the facts, which are indignated by the fanatics of the Absilition school; but a few of the facts, which are indignated by the fanatics of the Absilition school; but a few of the facts, which are indignated by the fanatics of the Absilition school; but a few of the facts, which are indignated by the fanatics of the Absilition school; but a few of the facts, which are indignated by the fanatics of the Absilition school; but as the complaint has never been, that the black man would now when the fa justice, bursting the cerements of the grave, has sought out, and crowned with immortal laurels, those who were but yesterday hurled into the pit, amid the barbaric brutalities of a malignant mob. So is it, he said, to-day. What the abolitionists So is it, he said, to-day. What the abolitionists have hitherto uttered as prophecy, now looms up as history in the world's horizon. Wendell Phillips, "the silver-tongued orator," is no longer regarded as the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet. The mob no more thirst for his blood. The mobocratic elements have melted beneath the fervent heat of his oratory, and the steady brightness of his consistent life. William Lloyd Garrison is no longer driven through the streets of Boston with a halter around his neck. There he sits in his sanctum, flashing his lightnings where he pleases, hurling upon oppression everywhere his exterminating thunders, and none dare exclaim, "Garrison, what doest thou?" Seward, Sumner, and Hale, are now acknowledged to belong to powerful, if not to "healthy" organizations. What were once regarded as the incoherent ravings of dreamy abstractionists and crazy Bedlamites, are and Hale, are now acknowledged to belong to prove the control, if not to healthy? organizations. What were once regarded as the incoherent ravings of dreamy abstractionists and cray Bedlamites, are now felt to be concrete and cannon ball realities, The aggressions of the slave power have thrown up, said he, a highway through which the oppressed shall yet reach the star-spangled goal of their aspirations. Mr. Watkins then spoke of the results of West India Emancipation. It had not been a failure, a shad been declared by some. Numerous as the been a boon to all classes. A letter of Gov. B Hincks, ex-Premier of the Canadas, to a committee of gentlemen residing in Toronto, was quoted as blessing to all. Real estate has increased in price and is a more certain and advantageous investment than in the time of slavery. The estates are much than in the time of slavery. The estates are much then the time of slavery. The estates are much than in the time of slavery. The estates are much than in the time of slavery. The estates are much than in the time of slavery. The estates are much than in the time of slavery. The estates are much than in the time of slavery. The estates are much than in the time of slavery. The estates are much than in the time of slavery. The estates are much than in the time of slavery. The estates are much than in the time of slavery. The estates are much than in the time of slavery through their value and the progress of education, is quite equal to what to make the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly in the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly in the religious condition of all clases, and the progress of education, is quite equal to what the proprietors are a limited to the proprietors are all the proprietors

SLAVES.

to move the first resolution, which was to the following effect:—"That on this, the twenty-seventh anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, this meeting would joyfully record the satisfaction which it feels in the retrospect of the results which have followed from the Emancipation Act of 1833, which have demonstrated that that Act was not one more of national justice than of sound policy; it would also rejoice in the fact that the liberated population have, by their conduct, triumphantly yindicated their capacity for freedom, as erated population have, by their conduct, triumphantly vindicated their capacity for freedom, as
well as their right to it, and have demonstrated the
safety and advantage as well as the duty and necessity of immediate and unconditional emancipation."
The Rev. gentleman, in the course of his remarks,
read a long and interesting communication from
Mr. Roycroft, a missionary just returned from San
Domingo, upon the condition and prospects of the
colored race upon Turk's Island and in San Domingo.

The Rev. Dr. Hewlett seconded the resolution. He said it had cost the country twenty millions steriling to liberate the slaves in the West Indies, but never were twenty millions better laid out than in this cause. This was the universal opinion of Englishmen of the present day, but his friend, Mr. George Thompson, would very well recollect the opposition at that time to emancipation. It profeeded, however, from those who had vested interests in the continuance of slavery, and seldom from those who could judge with honesty and impartiality. Notwithstanding the sterling value of able-bodied slaves, they were not treated with the care which any Essex farmer would bestow upon his cattle, and thus the property in slaves was of a most precarious and unprofitable kind. In conclusion, the speaker expressed a hope that success would attend the efforts of those who were endeavoring to place British consuls at points all round the coast of Africa — a measure which he believed would prove to be an effectual barrier to the slave-trade. The Rev. Dr. HEWLETT seconded the resolution

Refuge of Opptression.

THE POLICY OF THE PROPE.

A revised of the Grandess Compension, or presentation of any latest of a state of a state of the compension of the product below in the product below in the product below in the product below in the compension of t

soil on which both combatants were born, how much greater were its horrors! Men from North and South intermarried, and intermingled so that no one could tell on seeing an American from what State he came, what side in the struggle he would take. they who laid the foundation of that noble structure. It was not now a question of liberty, for the slave only, but of liberty for the white population of the North as well, for the South demanded nothing less than this—that no man should speak or print a word against slavery, or do a single act which should help a slave to escape: Suppose their elect were placed in the chair of the Father of the Republic; placed in the chair of the Father of the Republic; give to them a facile Congress; allow them to recast the American statute-book: they would so pervert the Constitution that America, instead of being the widest canopy of freedom under heaven, would become the darkest den of despotism. (Hear, hear.) Years ago, their own poet had warned them when he said.—

"There is a poor, blind Samson in the land."

(Cheers.) We repeat the warning to-day, and we say, "Be wise in time; be generous, and thereby prove yourselves sagacious." They had met that night to commemorate a great act of justice, and on this occasion he hoped they would address the American people through the press in the language of encouragement to the cause of justice. Mr. Wilkes then referred to the annexation of San Dominga by Spain, neging the duty of England to present the same of the same of

NO MOBS.

Everybody remembers the Hon. Caleb Cushing's amous Bangor letter, written in January, 1860, in which the writer redicted the first state of the North.—N. Y. Tribune.

It is very well known that the Southern traitors could tell on seeing an American from what State he came, what side in the struggle he would take. (Hear, hear.) We could only regard the American sa another branch of the same great family with ourselves, so closely were we identified in language, in history, in religion, and almost in laws. In pointing out, therefore, the causes and the issues of this war, let the language of sympathy towards their brethren be used. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the cause of the war, they could but feel that the language of the resolution was a truism, and that only by the destruction of slavery could the been the evil and bitter root which had brought forth the harvest of disaster. They could not blame the founders of the Republic. No men could be more pure from human passion and infirmity than they who laid the foundation of that noble structure, who laid the foundation of that noble structures than this—that no man should speak or print a word against slavery, or do a single act which should word against slavery, or do a single act which should should an another than the result of the resolution of the came of the same correspondent to the expectation of aid from the Northern States, and it is easy to see that such the States in show we have quoted from the Faneuil Hall speech and the Bangor letter went far to encourage their treasonable purposes. But it is not our object to bring Mr. Cushing from his retirement for the sake of linking his name with the rebellion. Our purpose is to call attention to the necessity of union, harmony and order among the people of the free loyal States. We believe there is an overwhelming majority of the people of the free States in favor of sustaining the general government in its efforts to maintain the integrity of the Union and the laws; in its efforts to maintain the integrity of the Union and the sway of the Constitution and the laws; in the way of the Constitution and the laws; in the sway of the Constitution and the laws; in the sway of the Constitution and the laws; in the way of the c secession sheets in New York, Connecticut, and Ohio, are as openly as they dare to be in league with the rebels. These last clamor for peace, not only at the expense of the nation's dishonor, but because they desire the nation's dishonor. They would be glad to see Washington captured, the President of the United States a fugitive, and them-President of the United States a fugitive, and themselves recipients of fat salaries under Jefferson Davis. But the former class do not mean to sacrifice their loyalty and their political hopes to the cause of their quondam friends. We would preserve this substantial unanimity by our political action this fall, and by keeping to the extreme verge of toleration in our dealings with those who are of the class pledged by Mr. Cushing and others to get up a civil war on Northern soil, as a diversion for the benefit of the South. We know very well the temptation which besets every true man when he where the commemorate a great act of justice, and on this occasion he hoped they would address the hencit of the South. We know very well the south of the continuous properties against to commemorate a great act of justice, and on this occasion he hoped they would address the hencit of the South. We know very well the south the social continuous properties the tense of justice. Mr. It is a complete the properties the tense of justice. Mr. It is a considered that the properties the metaphysical distinction of the properties the metaphysical distinction of the properties the properties the metaphysical distinction of the properties the properties the metaphysical distinction of the properties and properties the properties and properties the properties the properties the properties the properties the properties the properties and properties the properties and properties the properties the properties the properties and properties the propert

The destruction of a newspaper office in Concord, New Hampshire, has been speedily followed by a similar act of popular vengeance in Bangor. For aught we know, the Bangor paper may have been as unwise in its treasonable talk, and may have given as direct provocation to individuals, as its New Hampshire companion in misfortune; but we cannot help suspecting that the fate of the latter hastened the crisis in the affairs of the former, and that if there had been no mob in Concord, there would have been none in Bangor. Examples of this sort are contagious in the extreme, at a moment of great popular excitement like this. The man who has shrewdly calculated the limits of public forbearance shrewdly calculated the limits of public forbearance in his own locality, must be prepared to meet the additional peril occasioned by some outbreak elsewhere, and to find his reliance upon the good sense and prudence of the community, whom he daily outrages, suddenly impaired by the effect of some bad precedent set elsewhere. And he must also be prepared to find that, after the ice is once broken, a prepared to find that, after the fee is once broken, a much smaller provocation will rouse the active animosity of the multitude, than was necessary to excite the original movement.

We trust that the patriotic and liberty-loving men of New England will take these things to heart, and will be warned by the first steps in a work of mischiof which cope failly on foot will be a shame and

chief which, once fairly on foot, will be a shame and a cause of repentance for them forever. Let them beware how any man's liberty of speech or publication is limited by popular violence. Let them beware of any tribunal or any standard for judging the counsel or conduct of any man, except such as are recognized and provided by the law. For genethe counsel or conduct of any man, except such as are recognized and provided by the law. For generations has New England jealously guarded against every sign of infringement upon those great rights, which are justly regarded as the foundation of our liberties, in spite of the reckless or mischievous design with which those rights may have been exercised. Let us not forget at this moment, when the genuine old spirit of New England shines out more brightly than ever, the forbearance and impartial justice which have been counselled and practised here for generation after generation. No one can here for generation after generation. No one can predict the excesses to which such a spirit may finally lead, if it is once suffered to take its course unchecked; but this we know, that the first step in such a course is an abandonment of a principle which should ever be held sacred.

which should ever be held sacred.

The mischief that these advocates of secession may have been able to accomplish, appears to us inconsiderable in comparison with the discredit brought upon the national cause by such acts of violence as we now refer to. From the outset, the strong point with the loyal States has been, that whereas the se-ceded States have suppressed all liberty of speech and publication, the faithful States have preserved both intact, and have been able to show a public sentiment, which has become unanimous under no pressure, but by its own spontaneous action. We still maintain that this is the case, but where are we to turn for evidence to counteract the impression were stimulated in their attempt to overthrow the government by the expectation of aid from the Northern States, and it is easy to see that such

ittle stories:

"Alluding to barbarity, reminds me of something I heard last night. I wrote you that the enemy, when they came to Manassas to bury their dead slain in the battle of the 19th, commenced intrenching themselves. They formed their intrenchments of human bodies; took their dead comrades, and piling human bodies; took their dead comrades, and plung them one on the other dug a trench, and threw the dirt over the bodies to form a breastwork. I am not sure but it is wicked to relate anything so horrible, and admit that a civilized man was guilty of it, but it is

admit that a civilized man was guilty of it, but it is true, notwithstanding.

I saw President Davis this morning, who gave me many interesting particulars. Yesterday I learned much from Col. Chesnut, and this evening Gen. McGowan entertained a large circle with many amusing incidents. The enemy crossed the Potomac with a grand army. Gen. Scott, in a splendid carriage, drawn by six fine horses, passed part of the day at Centreville. Mrs. Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, and other ladies, were with him. One was a lady of Centreville, with whom Gen. McGowan afterwards spent the evening."

### NO TERMS WITH TRAITORS.

THE SUBMISSION OF THE REBELS THE SOLE COM DITION OF PEACE.

To the N. Y. State Democratic Committee: I make no apology for criticising Democrats, sine I am myself a Democrat. Nay, almost can I say, "If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof "If any other man thinketh that he hath whereon he might trust in" Democracy, "I more." For I have spent much of my life in inculcating it. Moreover, my Democracy is not a half-way, but an extreme one—a Democracy as broad as mankind; and so jealous of Government as to allow its presence indeed, save in the one legitimate Govern mental office of protecting persons and property That mine is the genuine Democracy is manifested ous Democracy has with it. Nor need I make apology for praising Republicans, since I have never been one of them. And I need not fear that any thing that I shall say of Democrats or Republicans will expose me to the charge of office-seeking, since I am one of the few who, at the expense of being called very eccentric and very foolish, sternly refus to go in the ways which lead to office.

The proposition made to you a few days ago by the N. Y. State Republican Committee was both wise and magnanimous. It was wise in view of the wise and magnanimous. It was wise in view of the wants of the country. It was magnanimous because coming from the stronger to the weaker Party. I regret that it was declined. Its prompt and cordial acceptance would have strengthened the hands of the Government, and brightened the prospects of patriotism. But there is a reason given for declination is the base because the progret. patriotism. But there is a reason governing it, which I much more than regret. It merits ing it, which I much more than regret. It merits in the property in the property is a reason government. abhorrence and denunciation intense and universe Republicans, ay, all right-minded men, whether publicans or Democrats, demand of the rebels in mediate and unconditional submission. But would have "the Federal Government hold terms of peace and accommodation to the dissevered States." Is this the policy of most of the Demo-cratic leaders in the different States?—and is their Party to be rallied to espouse it? If so, then i there more reason than ever to fear the result of the war-of the war which is waged so earnestly by our foes, and with so little and so divided heart by ourselves. Gloomy indeed is the prospect, if even this little heart is to be made less, and the breach in heart to be made wider by this threat ened unpatriotic attitude of the Democratic Party Gloomy indeed the prospect, if the great Party which comprises nearly half the men of the North is to exhibit such a spectacle of meanness as in its espousal of this policy it will!—such a spectacle for our foe to feed his pride, and strengthen his courage,

and build his hopes upon !

The North would be left without spirit to con time the war, after a proposed "accommodation" or compromise in her name. For what would the proposition imply but her admission that the rebels are at least partly right in their rebellion, and she partly wrong in resisting it? what but her on that our Government and Nation are either so reduced in power as not to be able to sup press a rebellion, or so reduced in dignity and self-respect as to be willing to bribe even rebels into for What, in a word, would the proposi tion imply, but her admission that the Government and Nation are not worth preserving? For to treat with armed rebels is manifestly to throw both away. There is not a respectable Monarchy on earth tha would consent to do so. But far rather might is treat with armed traitors than we-we who have an ballot-box through which wrongs can be right Do you say that crimes may be committed b Government so enormous as to justify the wronge passing by the tardy and uncertain remedy of e ballot-box to seize their arms? But if it is by nch crimes that this Rebellion has been provoked then it should not be put down; and you ought to be ashamed of your boast that "hundreds of thou-sands of your (our) brethren (Democratic brethren) have taken up arms" against it. This boast is your ion that the rebels had suffered no wrongs, which justified them in seeking any other than a peaceful redress. Never, that I am aware, had they suffered any wrong whatever at the hands of Government, always excepting the very grea wrong of being allowed to have things the Emphatically true is it, that the South is our partial Government's spoiled child. And no less true is it, that the North is now suffering the severe penalty of having permitted and encouraged the Government to spoil it.

A sword in one hand, and a bribe in the other We can never conquer in this wise. Possibly we might, were our foe like ourselves. But neither of his hands bears messages of peace. Both are busy in dealing out death. And not only does he scorn to propose compromises, but as utterly and openly does he scorn to accept them. How exceedingly us, in this light, is your attempt every other attempt, to make an issue with the un-compromising enemies of the Rebellion, by propos-ing compromises! You know perfectly well that there can be no compromises. Nevertheless, you be no compromises. Nevertheless

pose—though it certainly is with no other effect than to divide and destroy us.

What boots it that we are two or three times as numerous as the concern. numerous as the enemy, and have ten times his wealth, if we are divided, and he united?—if, whilst with him, all speak one language, there are with us numberless lips, pens and presses that speak for him? Secession Regiments allowed to march daily through Baltimore would not be as dangerous to our Cause as are her Secession Presses. And simi the danger of such Presses in New York The Regiments could be watched and controlled but the demoralizing influence of the Presses car not be hindered from going over the whole land These Presses plead their Constitutional rights just as sure as that the Southern Conspirators, have flung away the Constitution and armed themselves against it and the nation, have no Constitutional rights, so sure is it that they who remain among us, and yet identify themselves with the Conspirators, have no Constitutional rights. There is ther nation on the earth which would accord rights to persons in the circumstances of the conductors of these Presses: and this nation must either cease from such spurious and suicidal liberal-ity, or cease to live. The Constitution was not intended to afford protection to those who help on bloody war against itself and its loyal subjects. But what if there are Constitutional or other laws necessities of war, among which there is scarcely one more urgent than the suppression of newspa-pers that are in the interest of the enemy, rise high above all laws. May the mob suppress them? No—but the War Power may. That Power, which has the right to break up a bridge when, in its judg-ment, the measure is called for, has right under the ame condition to break up a Press. But this, rill say, is to recognize in the War Power boundlessness of despotic power. Admitted. And the nation which, in a war for its very existence, hesitates at such recognition, exhibits more of the harmlessness of child's play than of the terrible earnestness of war. What makes our contively small foe so effective? It is that the is so earnest and so wise as to leave her Wa Power untrammeled, and entirely free to use all th means of the South, and to use them as it will This wicked war would soon have been ended had This wicked war would soon have been enter had our Government, or, in other words, our War Power, felt the like liberty. Very different would have been the present condition of things, if the Northern Government had felt the same liberty as the Southern to use black men. Whilst the South is wholly and hotly determined to maintain South-ern Slavery and kill Northern Liberty, the North is ern Slavery and kill Northern Liberty, the North is half-heartedly in the work of maintaining both. The newspapers say that our Government has invited Garibaldi to take part in this impracticable and ridiculous work. It cannot be true. For, though our Government may feel bound to pursue this wretched policy of going for Liberty and Slavery, it could never be guilty of insulting that grand Soldier of Freedom by inviting him to identify himself his magnificent fortunes and his read him.

grand Soldier of Freedom by inviting him to iden-tify himself, his magnificent fortunes and his world-wide fame, with this wretched policy. Our Govern-ment will never invite Garibadii to take part with it, until it shall have risen to the purpose of con-quering the enemy by whatever means. Not till quering the enemy by whatever means then will he consent to take part with it. By the way, is there not some danger that, if the

North shall continue her present unfriendly and contemptuous attitude towards the four and a half millions of Northern and Southern blacks, this attitude will, especially when combined with Southern professions and promises, have the effect to bring this mighty element into a sincere, and as appalling as sincere, identification with our foe?

Is it a wonder that every step of Jefferson Davis is confident and defiant, and that so many of Abra-ham Lincoln's are timid and hesitating? It is not For, whilst Jefferson Davis represents a people of one heart and one purpose, Abraham Lincoln is obliged to pause, and calculate how far and how fast such men as you, and the masses you influence, will let him go. Unbappy man!—for, whilst the other President is cheered and strengthened by the entire devotion to his cause of all around him, our Presi-dent is nuder, the constant and without properconstant and withering remembrance that it will depend upon his success in con-ciliating the enemy at home, whether the country will be able to conquer its other and less dangerous enemy. Simpleton that I was for believing that the shots at Fort Sumpter would turn all the Republi-cans, yes, and all the Democrats into Americans, and thus make the way a very short cond. Having cans, yes, and all the Democrats into Americans, and thus make the war a very short one! Having never worn the chains, nor experienced the debauchment of party, I was ignorant how hard it is to break the one, or get cured of the other.

You profess to be in favor of "the vigorous prosecution of the war." Of course you do—for the people are; and to get influence with them, you must make them believe that you are. But there is only one way for you to be what you profess to be

at this point. It is to help the Government carry on the war. But you point to "the hundreds of thousands" of Democrats in the Army to prove that you are helping the Government to carry it on. In vain!—for this only proves that they are helping—not that you are. All honor to those "hundreds of thousands"! and all dishonor to you! enough they want to the provent of the provided they are they are they are they are thousands."! only one way for you to be what you profess to be at this point. It is to help the Government carry Deeply do you wrong them, insultingly do you degrade them, by identifying yourselves with them. In this dark hour of our country are they, like you, against its Government? No, they are fighting for Or do they, like you, refuse to co-operate wipublicans for the salvation of the country? No Republicans for the salvation of the country.

But two parties in the Revolutionary struggle—to wit and wickedness, and stand shoulder to shoulder with the Colonies and Great Britain: were the former experience. Republicans. I cannot affirm that you will not succeed in bringing over the Democratic masses to your guilty ground; but I can affirm that you do your guilty ground; but I can affirm that you do not represent them now.

You do not fail to extol the Constitution. Of

Americans, would betray as great a lack of cunning the Bible, when he would gain something from Christians. But, gentlemen, I trust an indignant Christians. public will teach you that the present is not the proper time for turning men's minds from the Counproper time for turning men's m to the Constitution-from their urgent duties, amidst the appalling necessities of the one, to their composed study of the requirements and their proonged admiration of the merits of the other. It is but a poor sort of philanthropy which distresses itself over the great value of the clothes that the drowning man is carrying with him to the bottom. Very unseasonable is the reading of the "Rules of the Hotel" to its inmates, when the Hotel is on fire. But not more so than to remind Americans of the not that of a partisan: we neither voted for it, nor act

I do not expose myself to the charge of making light of the Constitution by setting the country above it. For much more have I written, and much more have I spoken for it, than has any other Dem dead. And it is not for parts of the Constitution that I have written and spoken; but for every line and letter of it. And I have not dishonored the Constitution and its Authors by admitution a ting it to be necessary to go outside of it for proofs of its meaning; but I have honored both by insist-

the land. Our Government is earnestly and hon-estly intent on saving the nation; and it is for the life of the nation that our Government be confided in and sustained. Whoever then seeks to weaken its bonds is a traitor. But of the most wicked and effective form of treason are they guilty, who, taking advantage of the popular idolatry of the Conthe conduct of the Secessionists combines all conceivstitution, unsettle the popular confidence in the able perfidy and crime, and that they are brigands and Government, by charging it with disregard of the pirates on a scale unparalleled in the annals of human I hope, gentlemen, that you are not traitors.

on are not, then are you greatly to be so strongly seeming to be what you are not. If you are not more concerned to conquer the Republican Party than to conquer the Rebels, then never did any men's attitude more belie their spirit.

The distribution and a soul-imbruting system. That your purpose is to inspire your Party with the deepest distrust of the Government is too obvithe deepest distrust of the Government is too obverous for even you to deny. That your success in this would complete the ruin of your country, you may not see. Nevertheless, you would see it, were you not blinded by party zeal. I think you will not succeed. I think you will not be able to carry with you the County and Town leaders of your Party, pending the country and Town leaders of your Party, pending the country and the pressure of the program of the product of the case is not made a part of the Declaration: there is no exception: it says, 'All just government is only by consent of the governed'—the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the Declaration of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the Declaration of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the Declaration of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the Declaration of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the Declaration of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the Declaration of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the merit of the much less the party itself. Strong as is the partisan spirit in your Party, I think the spirit of patriotism in it is stronger. I believe you will not be able to rally an opposition Party at the North. As there is but one Party at the South, so there will be but one at the North. All the South is for the Rebellion, and all the North will be against it. I believe that the Government will stand, and that you will fall. I believe that the Democratic as well as the that the Government with the Government will consent to postpone the prosecution of party will consent to postpone the prosecution of party purposes, and the gratification of party predilections, until the Rebellion shall be conquered, and the country shall be safe. That done, and I shall be as willing to see each Party go its own way, as I shall be glad to see all the wrongs of own way, as I shall be glad to see all the wrongs of the South (if there are any) abundantly redressed, the South (if there are any) abundantly redressed, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by and laid down her arms. But a curse on the Party that raises its head before the war is ended! And not one word of peace, not one leaf of the olivebranch, nor one concession, however small, to the rebels, so long as they are rebels. Much as they are worth, and they are worth much, because they are worth, and they are worth much, because they are our fellow-men, the Government and the Nation are worth, vastly more: and both Government and

can Party would consent to "the separation of the States." I confess that I preferred such separation, if peaceful, to war. But the Republican Party has never proposed it. There is not one Republican in one hundred who would consent to it. Moreover, there are ten Democrats who would, where there is one Republican who would.

I have not failed to notice that, in your Call of

Convention, you too put party below patriot. But in vain is it that you do so. "Actions ak louder than words." Never, after you deremedy is your repentance.

GERRIT SMITH. Peterboro', August 13, 1861.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Times communicates the intelligence that Government has been informed, from the North, of the formation of an organization which threatens very much to complicate existing difficulties. The correspondent complexity of the pursuit of happiness:

2. Governments are instituted.

"No reliable information has yet been obtained of "No reliable information has yet been obtained of the extent of the society, but its purposes have been pretty clearly defined. It seems to be based upon a religious philanthropy, and imbued with the belief that a great Christian duty is to performed by embracing the present opportunity to free the negroes of the South. There is little doubt but that large numbers of men, impressed with this sentiment, and with the additional incentive of fulfilling a patriotic purpose, have urgently pressed upon the Government the propriety of furnishing the arms and material necessary for putting this scheme afoot, and that had the Government, three months ago, given the least aid, the rebels of the South would now have to confront a terrible enemy at their own thresholds. The prompt discountenance of the Government, it was supposed, discountenance of the Government, it was sup had put a stop to this enterprise; but it appears to have delayed it. Private contributions have nan put a stop to this cherprise; but it appears only to have delayed it. Private contributions have been invoked, and with extraordinary success, and the project appears now to be assuming definite shape and excessive proportions. It will be pushed, if possible, beyond the interference of the Government."

The way to put an end to the war, and all machina-

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1861.

SECESSION AND THE WAR.

A replication from our unknown corresponde J. W." to some criticisms upon his first con tion, may be found in another column. It is not our habit to prolong a personal discussion with any one Endeavoring at all times to state our sentiments in plain language, tersely and without circumlocution, we are content to submit them to the good sense and honest judgment of our readers, without needle

We hardly know where to find "J. W." on the nuestion of Southern secession. He now says that he isapproves of that secession; nevertheless, he addswhile the colonies had the greatest, to change their mode of government. A disinterested arbitrator could alone come to a fair decision on this point." Is the question, then, of so difficult solution, that, because of our geographical position, we are disqualified from venture to condemn "the present secessi South"? For wherein he disables our judgment, he cripples his own. "As a general thing, extremists are both wrong." That may be; but who, in this case, are the extremists? Are the President and his Cabi. net, because they are endeavoring to preserve the government which they are under oath to uph put in this category? Are Generals Scott, McClellar Wool, Fremont and Banks-are the brave soldiers under their command-extremists? Is every one ap extremist, who sees no justification whatever for t traitorous course of the Secessionists? There were but two parties in the Revolutionary struggle-to wit. tremists, and so unable to "come to a fair decision respecting their alleged grievances? Or did they not make a just issue-so just that the whole civilized world. Great Britain included, has since recognized Course not. Messrs. Breckinridge, May, Burnett, Vallandigham do not. For the politician not to the rectitude of their course, and applauded the spirit extol it, when his purpose is to gain something from is equally just on the side of the government, and such will be the verdict of mankind. It was truthfully said as would the omission of the hypocrite to commend by Hon. Owen Lovejoy, at its commencement, that there had never been so causeless and inexcusable a rebellion since the revolt of the apostate angels, as described by Milton. No language of impeachment or ation is too severe to apply to the rebels. Theirs is perjured villany, colossal criminality, un matched diabolism. In the most malignant sens they are humani hostes generis. In their present attitude, they deserve the execration of heaven and earth. "If partisans were right," says "J. W.", "no in

termediator in the shape of law would be necessary. under it. For more than a quarter of a century, we have stood aloof from all participation in the government, for reasons satisfactory to our own cons neither casting a ballot in any instance, nor endersing any political party as such. Our mission has been to criticise and condemn, more or less, all parties, and upon by the nation ever since its adoption,-and nothing more positive or conclusive than this assent can or of its meaning; but I have honored both by missting that it is its own sufficient interpreter.

The cry of "The Constitution! The Constitution!!" is at once the most hypocritical and mischievous of all the cries with which treason is filling with hell," and pronounced the certainty of its overneed be adduced,-we have steadily proclaimed the throw. Under these circumstances, we have no "part is for the tisan" feelings to gratify, but occupy a thoroughly independent stand-point, so that we can render true judgment between the contending parties at the pres ent time; and we say, on the merits of the issue, that pirates on a scale unparalleled in the annals of human depravity; and we further say, that they have received neither wrong nor menace from the govern ment, and that all their charges against it are lies of the first magnitude, coined in the mint of an infernal

"But you do not seem to see," says "J. W.", "that the merit of the case is not made a part of the Declarasession, we do not know : but ours re

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; tha among these, are life, liberty, and the pursui aboushing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former are worth vastly more: and both Government and Nation will perish, if there shall be the slightest stooping to those who are in arms against both.

You would have it understood that the Republican Party would consent to "the separation of the states of government. The history of the present king of Great Brita'n is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establish ment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To provy this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

What, now, becomes of the assertion of our corre an pondent? Is "the merit of the case not made a part More- of the Declaration"? Is not "the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, a part of the theory' Why, from the time when an instrument first became inscribed upon parchment to the present, none more guarded, none more lucid, none more condemnatory of speak louder than words." Never, after you de-clined the generous No-Party Proposition of the Republicans, has it been in your power to profess yourselves to be above party, and yet enjoy the reputation of being sincere. Your mistake was a reputation of being sincere. Your mistake was a the rebellious South, as it would be for the "father of lies" to quote the Sermon on the Mount in favor of all deadly sins! See what the revolutionary fathers asserted as fundamental and self-evident truths-for it will bear recapitulation :-

1. The endowment of the whole human race h their Creator, with an inalienable right to life, liberty,

2. Governments are instituted to secure thes rights: 3. Whenever any form of government becomes de

Such was the theory of the revolutionary fathers in regard to rebellion, or the substitution of one form of government for another in self-defence. In what did they find their justification for withdrawing their alle giance from the mother country? In the fact that such has been the patient sufferance of these colo nies: the history of the present king of Great Britain tions growing out of it, is for the government officially to "squelch out" slavery, under the war power. TIONS, all having, in direct object, the establish

in absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let | GEN. BUTLER'S CONTRABAND OF WAR. nitted fo a candid world

How iron-inked the logic—how grand the theory— how forcible and accurate the statement—how discriminating and just the exceptions in favor of revolution-how ample their justification, by their own standard, through a long and bitter experience—and how manly and sublime their closing appeal, "To prove this, it facts be submitted to a candid But had those facts been wanting-instead of them, had lies been substituted-and had only a factious and lawless temper of mind, in the furtherance of a thoroughly despotic and inhuman object, been displayed-would they not have covered themselves with infamy, and made their revolution abhorrent to mankind? They were not thus inconsistent in the issue they presented, but cheerfully put themselves on trial before a candid world, according to the FACTS, and received an applauding acquittal.

To which of these specifications do the Southern confederates subscribe? Do they maintain that all nen are created equal, and possess an inalienable right to liberty? Or have they not expressly made slavery the corner-stone of their political edifice? Are they not in revolt with sole reference to the safety, extension and perpetuity of that horrible system? They believe governments are (or, rather, should be) instituted to secure the rights of men-stealers and traffickers in human flesh, and not the rights of the people. And as for any "injuries and usurpations" they lave to complain of under the government, ing of the kind has occurred in a single instance. So far from it, they have always exercised controlling power in the government, from the administration

Of course, we do not need reminding that the revolutionary fathers were subsequently untrue to their own Heaven-attested Declaration, inasmuch as they either held slaves personally, or by general complicity: but their infidelity did not affect the doctrines promulgated by them in that immortal instrument. Had they been faithful and uncompromising, no "slaveholders' rebellion " would now be desolating the

tolerable judge of the laws of political economy." If he thinks that driving millions of laborers to unrequited tell, under the sole stimulus of the lash, and naking them as marketable as cattle and swine, can accumulate general wealth, or even "make both ends meet" by the severest calculation, we are quite sure he is laboring under a delusion. No prosperity, by the flat of Almighty God, can be the natural product of "the sum of all villanies." The tendency of the South is steadily and irresistibly to bankruptcy. This is not altered by the fact that the free labor, and manufacturing skill, and commercial enterprise of the North derive from the raw material of cotton remunerative compensation and increasing wealth. thanks to the Southern oppressors! No-but thanks to a just God who has so ordered it. Every branch of Northern industry would be greatly benefitted by the abolition of slavery; so that neither Northern capital nor labor has any pecuniary motive for the prolongation of that wasteful and destructive system. "Cottonocracy" and "shipocracy" alike, though now blind to the fact, would reap much larger rewards if free labor were substituted for slave labor at the South-We "speak the words of truth and soberness."

In order that our correspondent may advance in his politico-economical studies, we advise him to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" Helper's Impending Crisis, the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, and the 58th chapter of Isaiah-in the last of which he will find a very simple and thoroughly effective plan, divinely prescribed, for the abolition of slavery, with all its results duly set forth. Read-believe-rejoice!

### A BRIEF PROTEST.

Though cherishing a profound respect and loving regard for our noble friend and champion, Wendell Phillips, I must enter my protest against assimilating the cause of the man-stealing tyrants and traitors of the South-who, having misgoverned, corrupted and disgraced the Republic for sixty years, are striving to kill, because they can no longer misgovern it-to the cause of the enslaved Poles, Hungarians and Ital-

The parties to this war are the free whites, so called, of the North, and the slaves of the South, of the one part, and the robbers, oppressors, despisers, aye, and murderers of both, of the other part.

John Randolph, in a call upon some ladies in Virginia, found them busy in making up clothes to be sent to the Greeks at the time of their war with the Turks. tween good and evil spirits. I have nothing to say as to the sides which the spirits must respectively take, but I will say that the sides are not by their accession made equal, and the two causes confounded.

"Thrice is he armed, who hath his quarrel just, And he but naked, though locked up in steel, Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

## THE CAUSE OF THE WAR.

"The cause of the war" begins to be an important topic for discussion at the present time, notwithstanding the attempt of the newspapers throughout the land to settle the question.

All the leading journals in the loval States deny that the slavery question has any thing to do with regard to our waging war against the South. They say we are fighting the South because they rebel against the Government-because they have robbed us of the Federal property, and refused to obey our laws.

Now, is the American press so weak and blind as to suppose that the masses of the people are to be satisfied with this explanation? Are thirty millions of the most intelligent people on earth to accept this version of the matter, without consulting their own true knowledge in regard to it? Hand a child two tin rattles, one with and the other without the rattler, and see how quick the silent one is discarded. So it is to-day with us, in regard to the complicated and unsatisfactory definition of the "Cause" of the war handed out to us by the press. We do not accept itthe "rattle" is not there.

But, back of all this, we hear the rattle of the chains of four million slaves. This is the rattle which reverberates in the heart of the American people, and it will continue until the last link is severed that holds men in bondage. It would cost but a very few lives, and little money, to conquer the South, if we would apply the weapon to the heart of the enemy-touch her in the tenderest spot, (slavery,) and the victory is ours. But we are told "that time has not yet come." Why not come now, and save thousands of dollars, and millions of lives, which we must pay? I told a negro, the other day, that I thought our Government ere long, would furnish arms to "contraband" fugi-Massachusetts refuses to receive us into the ranks at home." I fear this is too true. But the time must whether they be considered as persons or property. soon come when the negro will be allowed to fight for his liberty.

Contents :- 1. The Shakespeare Mystery. 2, caping to us from our enemy's hands. The Buth. 8. Saccharissa Mellasys. 4. My Odd Adventure with Junius Brutus Booth. 5. My Out-Door nicipal or international, upon our armies to deliver Study. 6. A Sermon in a Stone. 7. Agnes of Sor- them up, nor to arrest, detain nor use them, except rento. 8. The Aquarium. 9. The Young Repealer. with their consent and at an equitable remuneration. 10. Bread and the Newspaper. 11. "Under the Cloud and through the Sea." 12. Journal of a Priva-

A very interesting number, as usual. Ticknor & to that effect from whatever source are unlawful.

PART III .- [CONTINUED.]

In the last war with Great Britain, 1812-15, no protracted incursions were made into Southern territory. and few descents on the slave coast, yet a large n ber of slaves escaped to the British camps and ships of war. They were so stupid as to run away from 'happiness" to "misery," from "kind masters "Cochfane the pirate." Those persons were all treated and disposed of conformably to the precedent established by Carleton; but the British government, contrary to its course in that case, consented to make ompensation for them. In 1836 Gen. Jessup, commanding in the Florida

war, made, with the approval of Cass, Secretary o War, an alliance with the Creek nation, by which on certain conditions they were to furnish from six hundred to a thousand men to serve during the war. One of the conditions was that they should have "all the plunder they might make from the Seminoles." that it was understood, that they were to have and to hold as slaves all the negroes they might capture. This was a revival of the most ancient barbarism, but quite in keeping with the general character of the con-

test. The Creeks captured about one hundred men, women and children. These persons having been brought, after a long imprisonment and various vicissitudes, within the military department of Gen. Gaines, were protected by him as prisoners of war, and sent off, in the style of Sir Guy Carleton, in company with their friends and allies, the Seminoles, to the Mr. Giddings, in his "Exiles of Florida," has given an exciting and humiliating narrative of infinite chicaneries practised by the Executive, the War Department and Indian Bureau to effect the enslavement o those unoffending people. In contemplating the dreadful moral and physical desolation, which marked that wretched marauding of a slave democracy and government for innocent blood and merchantable hones it is inexpressibly grateful to listen to the wholesome voice of one honest and energetic man; and to witness the triumph of an earnest and timely utterance in behalf of justice, liberty and humanity.

Mr. Giddings, in one of his late letters, sums up the arguments of Gen. Gaines as follows :-

"He asserted that in time of war all slaves are belligerents as much as their masters. The slave men cultivate the earth, and supply provisions. The wo-men cook the food, nurse the wounded and sick, and contribute to the maintenance of the war, often more than the same number of males. The slave childre equally contribute whatever they are able to support the war.

He could enter into no judicial examination of the claim of one man to the bones and muscles of another as property. As a military officer, maintaining the Federal Government by force of arms, because Federal Government by force of arms, he coul know what the laws of Florida were. He cou guided only by the laws of war, and the laws of State must yield to the safety of the Federal Govern to the safety of the Federal Govern to the safety of the Federal Govern the safety of the Federal Government the safety of t ment."—Doc. House of Representation Congress, No. 225.

Under color of a sale by the Creek captors to an American dealer in human flesh, an attempt was made by civil process to wrest his prisoners from the possession and jurisdiction of the General. He appeared at the bar, and vindicated the rights of the prise and his own authority, citing in support of both the well settled laws and usages of war. In conclusion

"I have not yet learned while acting in my official capacity on oath, to take the responsibility of of that which is repugnant to law, unjust and iniqui as I verily believe any favor shown to this ownld be."

In 1838 Gen. Taylor, having succeeded Jessup in the chief command, but not in unscrupulousness and subserviency to slaveholders and hunters, refused to deliver to them his negro prisoners, demanded by a crowd of Florida claimants as fugitive slaves. He told them he had no prisoners but "prisoners of war.' They insisted upon seeing them. He replied that no man should examine his prisoners for such a purose," and he ordered them to quit his camp.

The world has adjudged it a crime and a blunder in Bonaparte, that he did not at the commencement of the Russian campaign emancipate, re-nationalize and arm the Poles. But he was seduced and entangled by his fatal Austrian alliance, just as Great Britain was in the war of the Revolution, by her tenderness of the supposed interests and deference to the wishes of the great slaveholding Tories of the Carolinas.

A delusion from which even the truest and most thoughtful are scarcely exempt, prevails in respect to local limitations of the war power. That power, like the Constitution, acts upon persons without necessary reference to State lines. As the civil jurisdiction of "Ladies," said that hater of shams, "the Greeks are the United States extends to all citizens and residents at the door!" Can we be mistaken as to who are the in peace, so in this civil war the military is capable of which side the laws of God fight and the blessing of has declared and the President has proclaimed no war God will rest? It is the battle of Armageddon, be- against State nor section. A gang of conspirators have defied the laws, seized the muniments and sought the life of the nation. War thus evoked aims its weapons at the conspirators and parricides, their aiders and abettors, wherever they may be found, the same in Missouri as in South Carolina or Eastern Virginia, and the same in Western Virginia and Maryland as in either.

True, there may be no need of marching or muster. ing an army at every point where traitors may confederate and make war upon their country, either directly or by giving aid and comfort to the slave con federacy. But whether such need exist, is a question for the superior civil and military authorities of the nation. It is for them, in the exercise of a sound discretion, to determine where there are traitors and ene nies sufficiently formidable by their numbers, or by the secret complicity of local authorities, for the hand of war to smite. Wherever that may be, within the boundaries of the Union, or on the wide ocean, there may they, and must they, if faithful to the duties with which they are charged by this people, so prodigal of their blood and treasure, strike. And the seat or seats of war thus determined, do by necessary implication, so long as they remain such, fall under the dominion of martial law; and all persons and property, within the sphere of the operations of armies, must be subject to the rules and exigencies of war. As far as circumstances admit, it is best perhaps in practice, to blend by common consent the action of the civil and military powers, leaving to the former the exercise of all ordinary magisterial and administrative functions, which do not impinge upon the sterner, and, for the time being, more necessary and vital activities of the

By the Constitution, property of every description belonging to any citizen or resident of the United States, may be taken for public use, "just compensation" being made therefor. This is also a war power, and was exercised by both parties in the Revolution ary war, each giving compensation to their friends, and stripping those whom they respectively regarded as enemies.

Thus I have shown :-

1. That we have at present an unquestionable legal right to receive or capture slaves to any extent within "Never," exclaimed the negro, "as long as and from the territory of the enemy; and to receive those fleeing from traitors and enemies everywhere, 2. That we may employ, enlist or discharge the

paying them fairly in the two first cases, and rendering them in the last such protection and aid as we The Atlantic Monthly for September is receiv- would any loyal white deserter or refugee citizen, es-3. That there is no power conferred by law, mu-

teersman. 13. The Advantages of Defeat. 14. Ode and naval officers, seamen and soldiers, have surrento Happiness. 15. Elizabeth Barrett Browning. 16.
Reviews and Literary Notices. Recent American Pubgrave offence has been committed, for which obedience to orders affords no justification, inasmuch as all orders

Fields, 185 Washington Street, Boston, Publishers. 5. That no power exists to arrest by the military

arm, or return a fugitive slave to any claimant, how ever loyal he may profess or prove himself to be

6. That the Government has a clear right, eithe directly or by the leaders of its armies, to call the slaves from service on the side of those attempting the slaves from service on the side of those defending in As property, they may be taken-1, to weaken our e engthen ourselves, and hasten the achieva ment of a beneficial and permanent peace; 2, as a re moval of the cause of the war, and the only possible preventive of future wars-whether we form one or preventive of future wars—whether we norm one or more powers of perpetual discords in a delusive peace; and 3, as a necessary punishment of crimes, habitual to Southern slaveholders as a body. Among then may be reckoned

If poor of lettrem see, the just —the

a pa Janu ing

exist

Nati As

that I

little but th

as re

ocrac

tribut

ces no

steady

omy.

North

it has

then, d

ago, ar

of mill

now of

Free b

half a

there v

labor r

Southe

it does

tition,

if, as th

ing ins

saying

simple !

materia

ingenui

prise, is

merchan

the ma

ducts?

tries the

duced"

tion, on

converts

the Lib

mere sh

at the S

be more

were pre

dustry a

of neces

clusion

deeply is

friend of

we have

planter, be all n

let them

feasible

dicates ti

that the

of prostit

a princip

Many a 1

Весапие

J. Potter

any detai

we want

itself":

us give f

anarchy i

order, pr

whole sto

currence

make a

without

thereby

abolition,

Potter sa

have the

men) des

ever sho

ing work

the Nort

the produ

haps ten

Great Br

bility of t

the North

question f

Can even

tion, as e

and corre

beyond a

enough th

and tell

cause he

almost a

go togeth

should at

plan of a

statesman

must hav

fore the

with the very from says, the

then the

ing their

a better and blood

Lastly

1. Thousands of cowardly and cruel personal out. rages and murders of Northern citizens. nitted no offence.

2. Scores of felonious assaults in both Houses of Congress, culminating in an attempt to assassinate Senator in his seat, a deed applauded, defended and memorized with a unanimity unusual even for the outh; and all for the suppression of freedom of de bate in the highest legislative and executive council of

3. And with the same intent fatal duels, frequent challenges to the duel, continual menaces of the duel, and deadly insults designed to provoke it or degrade him who refuses it, whereby the Senators and Representatives of the North have been placed, during the whole existence of the common government, in the insidious dilemma of violating law and moral principles, and incurring the general conden sion of their friends and neighbors at home; or peronal humiliation and fashionable ostracism seat of Government; or of compounding with all three by knuckling to insolence, abandoning rights, duty and elf-respect, and betraying constituents and country. 4. Desecration of the ballot-box, the sceptre of the

overeign people, and committing some overeign people, and committing some numbers or ourning of towns and dwellings in Kansas, for the extension of slavery.

5. Texas acquired by fillibustering, and in sequence cowardly and rapacious war, uncons

gun, and unmercifully prosecuted against weak, unoffending, suffering and distracted Mexico,-both transctions involving the guilt of myriads of murders, and both for the extension of slavery. 6. Other fillibusterings in Lower California, Northern Mexico, Cuba and Central America, and there-

with some ten thousand other murders, for the extenion of slavery. 7. Punic faith in violating a compact of peace of heir own proposing, and enviously destroying great

interests of their own creating. 8. The systematic violation of letters and printed orrespondence for nearly thirty years, at the pleasure of every postmaster or of his familiars, throughout

the entire South. 9. Proscription of honest and capable men, and the estowment of official honors and emoluments upon the incompetent and dishonest, until the honors had become null and the emoluments the rewards of prize ighters at elections—the pay of mercenaries, enlisted to extend slavery and maintain the baleful predominance of the Slave Power, whereby the exercise of the most vital function of the government, the dispensations of that earthly providence, called federal patronage, had long degenerated into a mean and bas barter between sectional jealousy, ambition and rapacity on the one part, and individual greed on the ther-an unexampled and frightful system of bribery and corruption-in effect, a new slave trade, wherein white slaves" have been bought and sold in the District, and in the interior of the White House, as egularly as black ones outside of it.

10. Burning wretched bondmen at the stake, sometimes by sentence of the law, often by mobs, without a single effort, public or private, to efface this horror

11. Sacrificing by over-driving and under-keeping, by cruel and unusual punishments, and by sudden d mortal violence, more thousands of human vicims to the god of gain than were offered up by th Carthagenians, from a far higher motive to their 12. Reviving slave trading piracy, and inaugurate

ng Jeff. Davis piracy.

13. Conspiring and making war for the destruction of their country, because they are no longer permitted to pervert its power, corrupt its morals, and disgrace

As persons, all the slaves are "within our reach" by eans of that undying love of personal liberty, which glows in every human bosom. To their quickened sense, the dead silence of despotism only makes of the South a whispering gallery. The smallest mutter es with electric speed around the vast dome, and can summon at a moment myriads to our side, making

them rapturous defenders of the nation, instead of

ced assistants of its bloody assailants.

# ANOTHER LETTER FROM "J. W."

NEW YORK, August 12, 1861.

To the Editor of the Liberator: It had not been my intention to offer any further remarks, in relation to the matter of my com tion to your journal, as published on the 2d August; merely wishing to bring to the notice of sincere Abolitionists, rather a new, but yet it is believed a correct view, of the motives and purposes of the war, viz., that it is an attempt by the Northern aristocracy to keep slavery in the Union, under the Constitution that guaranties it. Hence, that the statement of many urnals, that the abolition of slavery is the intention, I look upon as altogether fallacious. The opinion of the legal officer of the government, published in our papers of to-day, can only confirm the view I have ated. Even captive or runaway slaves are to be restored or paid for in due season. Your series of remarks upon my article were, as an old friend (perhaps next to Dr. Channing, the very oldest sincere Abolitionist) states, "no reasons, only illustrations and declamations"; hence, perhaps, it did not need to offer any further observations. I would ask, however, as respects your 7th, and last point, (that "J. W. has nothing but sneers and censures for the North, and apologies and excuses for the South,") to have pointed out where the latter exist. On the contrary, J. W. disapproved of the present secession of the South, whether it had a doubtful right or not, as explained in my article, and echoed in one in the Dublin Mail of July 20,\* (which ought to be a neutral print, if any one can be.) If, however, the Liberator be lieves in no such thing as neutrality; that they who do not take a side must be wrong; then its 7th remark is perfectly natural. As to the 6th remark, J. W. admits that it is the right of all others, equally with the seceders, to judge of the "causa inj necessity of secession. Great Britain took exactly that view of the case in 1776. So did France. Nevertheless, such judgment on the part of others they are und clearly to prove, from the agreement that binds all. If that makes it a matter of doubt, it is expe diency forms the judgment, not facts. In const law-document, we take facts, not expediency, and ask what clearly defined rights either party has under the agreement. If one has been omitted to be considered or noticed at all, the opinion is but an inference The 5th remark of yours is answered by the same

argument. You deny that the secessionists have any

. . A number of these States declare that faith has been kept with them in the compact of Whether they possess the right to so termination, is neither assumed nor denied by the d This silence is claimed by each side in the quality to the compact of the subjugation of those independent States, who for self-government and freedom to decide their nies. We say deplorable, even if the Southern

cipation, New M ton street

1. Let
Variation
2. Chilitois. Mu
tois. Ms
8. Ross
By E. C.
4. Rive
b. La F 23.

s, "who have oth Houses of o assassinate s defended and even for the freedom of de-

ative council of lucis, frequent es of the duel. it or degrade ors and Repre-ed, during the moral princiation and averhome; or pertracism at the g with all three ights, duty and and country. sceptre of the e hundreds of ed sacking and sas, for the exnd in sequence titutionally be-

co,-both transof murders, and difornia, Northica, and theres, for the extenact of peace of

nst weak, unof-

estroying great ers and printed , at the pleasure ars, throughout the honors had

ewards of prizealeful predomithe exercise of nment, the dis. e, called federal mean and base nbition and rad greed on the stem of bribery trade, wherein nd sold in the he stake some

y mobs, without face this horror under-keeping and by sudden of human vic-fered up by the notive, to their

and inauguratonger permitted ls, and disgrace al liberty, which their quickened nly makes of the

smallest mutter dome, and can ur side, making tion, instead of ts. D. L. C. "J. W." igust 12, 1861.

my communica-the 2d August; of sincere Abopelieved a correct of the war, viz., ern aristocracy t the Constitution tatement of many is the intentio The opinion of published in our he view I have slaves are to be Your series of reold friend (perillustrations and did not need to would ask, howint, (that "J. W. s for the North, South,") to have On the contrary, secession of the one in the Dublin e a neutral print, the Liberator be y; that they who then its 7th rell others, equally causa injuria, took exactly that ance. Neverthe-

s but an inference ered by the same sionists have any

others they are

sement that binds

doubt, it is expe-

s. In construing

expediency, and

r party has under

that faith has not of confederation. The confederation with the connection of Unions, the deed of Unions or a point that imports on the confederation of the

cause, while the Colonies had the greatest, to change their mode of government. A disinterested arbitra-tor could alone come to a fair decision on this point. If partisans were right, no intermediator in the shape of law would be necessary. As a general thing, exfeemists are both wrong. But you do not seem to see, that the merit of the case is not made a part of the Declaration; there is no exception; it says, "All just government is only by consent of the governed" the degree of oppression, or indeed any at all, is not a part of the theory; and Mr. Lincoln, in Congress, January 12, 1848, says, "Any people anywhere, having the power, have a right to rise up, shake off the ting government, and form a new one that suits them better; or any portion of a people may do so."
I repeat, then, that the right of secession was a doubt-

one: not that clear case to warrant secession and civil war, nor coercion; and so thinks the Dublin Nation, as aforesaid. As to remark number three, it is readily conceded that the Southern leaders believed that "slavery had little or no security under the new order of things"; but that is no sort of argument against my position at respecting a Northern "cottonocracy" and "ship-ocracy," who had grown rich out of slave labor, which leads me to remark number two. "J. W. attributes the great prosperity of the North to this very institution of slavery," and, "we answer that it evinces not only interior demoralization of spirit, but gross ignorance of the laws of political economy." Now, as J. W. was an associate of Daniel Webster of the Free-trade party in 1829, and has ever since paid steady attention to the subject, he ought to be a tolerable judge of the laws and merits of political econ-The argument in the Liberator is, that slavery "it has cost the North a vast deal more than

is the sum of all villanies; ergo, its labor has not only bankrupted itself, but been a positive loss to the thas ever produced." Aha! that's it, is it? Why, then, did not the North cut loose from it thirty years ago, as a simply prudential measure? Again, "if free labor had from the beginning been substituted for slave labor, the whole country would be thousands millions richer than it is"; but we are speaking now of the North, not the whole country. Besides, what is meant by free labor? Black labor or white? Free black labor has existed in Havti for more than half a century, but there is less trade there now, than there was when we were colonies even. Is free white labor meant? If so, it is not unlikely that, did the Southern climate suit a free white population, the whole country might have been millions richer; but it does not follow that the North, under such a competition, would have been. There must certainly be a profit from the labor of four millions of slaves; and if, as the Liberator says, "slavery is not a self-sustainng institution-never makes both ends meet, &c.," where does the profit go to? Is not J. W. right in saying the North gets it? The Liberator says, "The simple fact is, that the South grows a valuable raw material, which the free North, by her mechanical ingenuity, and manufacturing and commercial enterorise, is enabled to convert into valuable articles of nerchandise, &c." Exactly so; the Liberator has hit the mark; but does the North do all this without profit? Agriculture at the South cannot make "both ends meet," but how about the working up its products? Is not this species of industry in all countries the most lucrative? How, then, "has the South cost the North a vast deal more than it ever pro-This raw material is certainly the foundation, on which Northern "mechanical ingenuity," &c., converts it into such valuable results. In short, by the Liberator's own showing, my saying is proved, that "the North gets the kernel, and the South the mere shell." Would it be so, if it were all free labor at the South,-black or white? Would not the profits be more equally divided, even if more raw material were produced? So long as all, or nearly all, the inlustry and enterprise are at the North, must she not of necessity have the "best of the bargain"? The Liberator itself proves it: and, therefore, can the conclusion be escaped, that the interest of the North is deeply in slave labor, and a war well worth while to retain it? On the other hand, the interest of the real

friend of the slave is peaceable separation; for while

we have him in the Union, it is even more the interest

of the Northern manufacturer, than the Southern

planter, to make him work to the utmost. These may

let them be examined.

all new views to Northern anti-slavery men, but

Lastly, as to remark number one, as to seeing no

feasible project for the abolition of slavery-" This indicates that with him, liberty is not a principle, is not the natural condition of man," (and then a long list of sentiments and general truisms.) Now, J. W. assumes that the North sees no feasible project for the abolition of prostitution or gambling; perhaps the Liberator sees note. "This indicates that, with him, virture is not the advantage of the people, when it means no such the advantage of the people, when it means no such the advantage of the people, when it means no such the advantage of the people, when it means no such the advantage of the people, when it means no such the advantage of the people, when it means no such the advantage of the people, when it means no such that the North sees no feasible project for the abolition of prostitution or gambling; perhaps the Liberator sees the advantage of the people, when it means no such that the North sees no feasible project for the abolition of prostitution or gambling; perhaps the Liberator sees that the North sees no feasible project for the abolition of the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or to the cause we advocate, or to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or teach by word or example to the cause we advocate, or to the cause we advocate to the cause we advocate. a principle." This is exactly the same argument. Many a nation has desired to abolish these vices none have ever succeeded beyond regulating; and why? Because a greater evil is apparent. That is the difficulty with slavery. You copy a sermon of Rev. W. J. Potter. "It is not possible, nor desirable, to fix any details of any scheme of emancipation, because we want that the scheme should be fixed by the South tself"; he says, and "the same humanity that bids us give freedom to the slave, bids us do so without anarchy and violence, but with its proper blessings of rder, prosperity and peace." Here we have the We cannot act without the cordial concurrence of the South, yet we have been trying to make a government matter of it; a forced step e concurrence of the South. Have we thereby led the South any nearer to any plan of abolition, or the reverse? The South alone, as Mr. Potter says, can form any feasible plan; they alone have the experience. They have (many eminent men) desired emancipation themselves; have they ever shown a feasible plan? Consider what it combines-the education of the slave, the laws of enforcing work, the interest of the master, the interest of the North, and of all the countries depending upon the product of slave labor; the future of four, peraps ten millions of blacks; the compensation to be made to the masters, as was but thought just by Great Britain in liberating her slaves; the desirality of the present social condition of free blacks, at the North, despised everywhere. Was there ever a question fraught with such stupendous considerations?
Can even the Liberator answer it? Such generalization, as exists in remark number one, may be truisms and correct sentiment, such as we all maintain towards prostitution, gambling and intoxication; but, in action, we must be practical. We must see clearly, almost beyond a doubt, every step of our way. It is not enough that we have a correct principle, and apply it hap hazard, because it is so. We do not go round, and tell every one that such a man is a cheat, because he deceives us; yet that is a correct principle, lost a duty. Principle and discretion should always go together. Is it a wonder, then, that the writer should say that he never saw a completely feasible plan of abolition, nor heard of one by any eminent must have transcendant ability, and ought to lay it before the public. J. W. is satisfied, for the present,

New Music. Oliver Ditson & Co., 277 Washington street, have published the following pieces:-

cipation, instead of the reverse?

eaps, the South only can justly emancipate, they have then the chance, and may be forced to do so in arrang-

1. Let me kiss him for his Mother. With brilliant Variations for the piano, by Charles Grobe.

2. Child of my Heart. Words by Blanche D'Artois. Music by C. E. Kimball.

3. Rosalie. O, thou wert bright as opening day.

By E. C. Sebastiani.

4. River Side. Baracolle, by Wm. Horatio Clarke.

5. La Bella Rose Mazurka. By R. R. French.

THE DESIRABLE RESULT.

"Whate'er thou purposest to do, With an unwearied seal pursue." The guiding and controlling power in the present that the only cure for them is emancipation. Would struggle, the ultimate occasion whereof is acknowledged to be slavery, is far from exhibiting, in its present that the only cure for them is emancipation. Would to God that we had earlier understood that there can be no abiding union or prosperity, save on the basis of

war; and when it is evident that a settlement of the a peace founded on justice, freedom, and universal irritating question alone can afford a sure guaranty of content. We can make master and slave equals, permanent peace; especially, too, when it is so obvious that a state of peace is the only condition under loyal slave State in emancipating, educating, and em which the republic can thrive? Foreign nations have ploying the slaves. Let the portion of the governtheir eyes upon us; and their inference of our wishes ment compensation to the whole expense correspond will be deduced from our practical admissions, which to the alacrity with which the State accepts the we cannot consistently gainsay, as officially announced terms. The Northern border States, Maryland, Kenby our national policy. They are interested specta- tucky and Missouri, have been kept back from emantors of our acts and their tendency, as affecting their cipation, 1st, by dread of the expense of compensainterests. Many of them regard us as freenen, praction, and, 2d, by the temptation of the profits of slaveticing self-government in a land of freedom, which spreads wide open its arms for them to come and par- perished; let us remove the other also. If we begin ticipate in our blessings. They consider this country the safety-valve of the world; and our example should convince them that our invitation to them is cordial, which offers to free them from all the evils of slavery and worthy of their acceptance. Can we do this by keeping ourselves in the uncertain quicksands of revolution and civil convulsions? And can we avoid these fatal evils without removing their cause? Why then extenuate the matter, till the country is frittered down to impotence? When all are agreed as to the funda- progress, with little immediate loss, and great ultimate mental cause of the difficulty, why not seize the bull

by the horns and the hydra by the throat? by Congress to organize territorial inhabitants who have the constitutional right, on the principles of selfmore restrictions be harnessed upon Southern chattels sooner, the better. Every day of war makes us less than upon Northern, nor the habeas corpus writ be able to offer, and the South less willing to accept. suspended so questionably by the President's sanction; let no menacing ships-of-war be arrayed, without constitutional sanction, against a revolting State, nor the guns of a fort, bought by the whole nation for its defence, be pointed at any part of the nation, till Congress virtually or directly order it to be done; let none of these be done, and there will be no need of their subsequent approval by Congress, and scarcely fewer meetings than usual, is being discussed. My need of reference to the policy of Washington in the interest in the cause is the only excuse that I have for famous Pennsylvania insurrection of 1794. For a saying a word upon it. violation of these provisions will furnish quite as valid precedents for further violations on future emergen-

The mere physical conflict of war will only demonstrate such facts as the comparative strength, skill, refuture harvest to freedom, and a jubilee release from servitude. No credit therefor, however, will be due to their usual pursuit of mammon, they look up and tion; and who can silence the voice?

a thorn in the side; but would not an impending Some of our speakers are unexceptionable in these fear of another rebellion continually disturb the namatters; but a few, I think, would do well, for contional repose, and depreciate its value as a member of science sake and the good of the cause, to strike a the world and as a home for its family of fremen, if a key-note higher in the hearts of men. Extravagan mere conquest by physical force be achieved, a forci-denunciation is the weakest of anti-slavery weapons, ble re-instatement of the Flag in the South be ef- but it is so easily wielded by some, that they, perhaps, fected, and the Union be soldered together by an do not know how excessively they use it. B. amalgam of powder and bayonet? Would not these add a thistle to the thorn? If compulsion is to be unreformed, but that gives no warrant for causeless used as the cement, why cannot intermediate condi-tions be imposed to harden that cement? It is not wholesome; but, if carried so far as to grievously necessary to exterminate the negro, nor to discard his wound the sense of justice in the minds of reasonable labor. If he be exactly adapted to raise cotton, sugar men who are not personally concerned, it must be and tobacco, and no other class of laborers can supply injurious. Very lately, in one of our meetings, the his place, let him remain at reasonable wages, and the profits will accumulate rapidly to his employer. This would break down both slavery and aristocracy, and would break down both slavery and aristocracy, and give the North a free pass all over the South, thus belittled. It was no lack of earnestness, or ability to constitutionally allowing "the citizens of each State all aid the cause, that led to such results; but, whatever pant of abolition, nor neard of one by any eminent privileges and immunities of citizens in the several was the cause, that led to such results, but, whatever any privileges and immunities of citizens in the several was the cause, that led to such results, but, whatever any privileges and immunities of citizens in the several was the cause, that led to such results, but, whatever any privileges and immunities of citizens in the several was the cause, that led to such results, but, whatever any privileges and immunities of citizens in the several was the cause, that led to such results, but, whatever any privileges are constituted by the cause of t States," freedom of speech and action, as at home by reached much further than the better influences could

with the immense step forward, of cutting loose sla-The finder finder from the Northern shoulders; if, as Mr. Potter grant violations of the Constitution, which in certain practical respects has become a dead letter, and will vinced that the total abolition of slavery is the absog their European business connections. Is not this better opening than Northern coercion, civil war all sides. To have a popular instrument observed, of Justice, Liberty, and Right. They must be made ing their European business connections. Is not this and bloodshed—even if these were intended for eman- it should represent the people's wishes; and if ours to feel that, if they could save the remnant of their needs amendment, our compromise should embrace fortunes, and their own liberties, by helping to hold is more profitable than free labor, whether it be black or white. Our aim then should be, in vindicating the civilized beings — that such wickedness is sure to flag and the Union, to do something, in the expensive and destructive process, for the enhancement of these emblems in value to this nation and to the world, to us and the world's posterity.

> "O. S. M." next week. We have many more communications on file than we can find room for.
>
> "O. S. M." next week. We have many more communications on file than we can find room for.
>
> "O. S. M." next week. We have many more communications on file than we can find room for. munications on file than we can find room for.

EMANCIPATION THE ONLY CURE.

DEAR LIBERATOR:

We all see the evils of slavery at last. We know ent stage, a professed radical tendency. In what it may eventuate, in the progress of its career, is quite uncertain. This somewhat depends on the length of Emancipation by force has its objections. It would the war, the persistence of the contending sections, the favorable or unfavorable results of the successive ters as would make improvement and progress at all battles to be fought, the chances of reaction among the people on either side, and the probabilities of the intellectually or morally. The hostility of race would interference of other nations, for various reasons best known to themselves. As the matter now stands, the the avarice, and the cruelty of the human heart would Northern army is composed of various elements, politically considered. Democrats and old-line Whigs march, shoulder to shoulder, with Republicans of ritate the masters so much that they would continue every grade,—their war-shibboleth being "Defence and vindication of the flag, and preservation of the The firmest Union men at the South would suffer the and vindication of the flag, and preservation of the Union." Under this sign, they propose to wage the war, to crush the rebellion, to conquer the enemy, and to reëstablish the integrity of the Union. Rigid observance of the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law, determination to discountenance and suppress slave revolts, and Congressional admission that slaves are not only property, but national property, subject to taxation as such by a national property, subject to taxation as such by a national law, to defray national expenses, are prominent features thus far devoloped and maintained both by the Administration and its friends, as well as by the Democrats. All these items tend, to a certain degree, to justify the Southern views on these subjects. They are advocated as proofs of fealty to the Constitution; and yet, on other matters relating to the employment of the navy, at least, and to the Habeas Corpus Act, this instrument is strenuously claimed by many to have thus lessen our power to help the slaves. Still, one instrument is strenuously claimed by many to have been ignored or set aside.

Why this fatherly tenderness on those points, and actual disregard on these, when it is well known and actual disregard on these, when it is well known and universally admitted what is the real occasion of the Union. We can bring about the only abiding peace, universally admitted what is the real occasion of the Union. We can bring about the only abiding peace, and when it is evident that a continuously.

The Burning of Hampton—The Renet Incention is not, nor do we wish to have it the issue involved in the present conflict between the North and South; and that we believe the man or party of men, who tramples under foot, or gives to the falmes the Constitution of the United States as being "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," is as deserving of the scaffold as Jeff. Davis and his conditions. breeding for the South. The latter hindrance has with them, there will be so much gain in principle Other States will soon follow. The government and war, poverty and anarchy, would present the strongest possible claims on their obedience, nay, rather, their gratitude. We can afford to be magnani mous enough to spare their lives and property, and to remove the great obstacle to their prosperity and gain to the whole Southern people, and large immediate profit to the most rich and powerful of the citi Otherwise, let the Constitution be observed in all zens. Is this possible? Yes, for it is right. Is there its parts, until it may be altered. Let no more gov- not at least possibility enough to make the measure ernors be appointed by the Executive over the terri- worth considering? It would be expensive, but not tories; no more organic acts be framed and imposed so expensive as war, for war settles nothing; but emancipation with compensation will settle every thing. It is what must be done first or last, or slavegovernment, to choose their own rulers and legisla- ry must continue, and all real union perish. Sooner tors, as servants, and not as colonial masters; let no or later, we must buy and free the slaves, and the

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MISSION.

CAMBRIDGE.

DANVERSPORT, August 8, 1861. FRIEND GARRISON, — The question, whether, in view of the times, Anti-Slavery men should hold

Opinions here are various; but to me the matter appears thus : - To hold them as a mere form is usecies, as the act of secession, if now countenanced, less; to hold them in mere bravado, or because of will be likely hereafter to warrant other acts of a opposition, is no better. We injure ourselves, and similar nature. And though it may be deemed by consequently our cause, when we get off the right some Republicans sufficient excuse for such violation. If we make our meetings tions, to plead "salus populi suprema lex est," we cannot but agree with John Selden, that "there is not hold too many, though we tax to the fullest extent all anything in the world more abused than this sen- our abilities, moral, intellectual, physical, and pecutence; for we apply it as if we ought to forsake the niary. But, if in our meetings we forget the grandeur that is, in all the laws you make, have a special eye and high moral sense, we cannot hold too few. It the good of the people." Besides being a very learned man, his memory is still more endeared to us character which the cause demands. Partial failures by his choice of the motto, LIBERTY ABOVE ALL oftenest arise from the forgetfulness of some of our ablest speakers. At least, they seem to forget when they spend precious time talking upon comparatively small side issues. Excitement and anger almost alsources, of the respective armies; which is the stronger, ways come at such times, and they bring with them a more skilful, or more fortunate, and not which is right. more bitter loss than that of wasted hours. Little It does not even determine whether the clergy and bickerings and personal attacks and disputes have no chaplains of the North, differing as they do sectionally, rightful place in anti-slavery meetings. Nor does it and diverging in rare harmony from their eighteen seem to me that taunts and gibes are fittest weapons centuried gospel standard of Peace, are more correct for anti-slavery uses. Denunciation, bitter and longin their imprecations and orisons than Southern continued, and carried to the extremest verge of preachers. But its effect may add four or five States truthful exaggeration, injures the heart of him who infrom the border-line to the free States, and thus weak-dulges in it, and all who hear it, whether friend or foe. en the hold of slavery on those farther South, for a The work is great before us. The people, at last,

the professed intentions of either army, or of the adstand aghast at the new developments of a tyranny ministration, as now directing. Such result will be that they never before cared for, or attempted to un incidental. It will rather escape through the inter-derstand. Many are more willing than ever before to stices of the sack than out of its opened mouth. It hear and learn something of the vile system that seridoes not appear in the programme. We are sure, ously threatens to ruin the nation. Never before was too, that it energetically agitates the forbidden questhere a better time to speak. But it is not well to A separate confederacy might be deemed by some just fitted to arouse the baser passions of a mob. anger and disgust all who come to hear us, by words their own firesides.

In such suggestions, we cannot see any more fladoubtless so continue under the present and recent lutely necessary work of to-day. They must be provisions for the purpose. Nor can we see that war others in slavery, they would not be worth the cost-

Right, and to induce them to stand by it at whatever cost, and, with their best efforts, encourage them to grasp the great ideas of the age, and become equal to the demands of the times.

Respectfults.

True, a large majority of those who composed the meeting were foreigners—recreant countrymen of the land that gave birth to the noble O'Connell. However, the Chairman was a most esteemed gentleman of the Republican party, and several of his associates were present, dissatisfied, no doubt, with the gross character of the meeting, but quite too tame and silent in such an hour. Surely, this is not the time to suspend our meetings. Now, if ever, we should

CAMP AT BARTLETT'S, August 9, 1861.

On Wednesday evening, it was decided by General Magruder to be expedient and proper to burn Hampton. In furtherance of this object, just after dark, the troops were moved from in sight of Hampton to another road which approaches nearer to Newport News, and not far from the town. The Old Dominion Cavalry, under command of Capt. T. F. Goode, and a command of infantry, under command of capt. T. F. Goode, and a command of infantry, under Col. Hodges, were detailed for the hazardous purpose of firing the town. The cavalry companies marched in front, and the infantry behind.

Just here I will state that an efficient fortification

came near getting mobbed last Sunday, for saying even less of Southern men and means of defence than Gov. Sprague said last week to his Legislature. Phillips was right at Abington on the First. Our Government is a 'murderer,' so long as the war goes on as at present. We dare not hang a spy, when we know that all our plans are revealed by him, and the army defeated in consequence. Postpone our meetings! By the woes of the enslaved, NO! It is high treason against Humanity, that should never hope for forgiveness. Let our ery be, as at Marengo, rather-'Push on your column !'

Phillips did well on the First. Why cannot we now cry, All hands to the work! Henry T. Cheever says well, in the last Standard, what is the work of the 'Pronounced Abolitionists,' at this time. For one, I will try to do just that, while my voice is as loud as the sparrow's on the

May Heaven smile upon the faithful labors of our brother, and grant him strength "sufficient unto his G. W. S.

ler in the South-East corner of Virginia, eight or nine hundred miles apart, with Rosencranz in Western Virginia, and Prentiss at Cairo between, hold the advanced positions of the Northern forces, about forty or fifty miles North of that 36 30 line which your compatriot, the revered Webster, and many other compatriots of yours in Boston, gave us so positively to understand was God's ordained boundary of slavery. I remember at the time I read those eloquent sentences, of feeling glad to be assured of so gratifying a fact by such a great man. I am sorry it don't turn out as Mr. Webster said, and am afraid it will take a good deal of Boston money to make Mr. Webster's words the things that are, instead of "the things that are not." The determined spirit of the North in action and words still lacks the high enthusiasm of a contest for principle. The national anthem died ler in the South-East corner of Virginia, eight or nine a contest for principle. The national anthem died "a-borning." What was there to sing about? Liberty could not be the burden of the song, for all the warriors, from Gen. Scott down, down to Gen. Butler, have kicked her out of camp: all the lawyers, from Sumner to Breckinridge, have thrust her from legislative halls; have hounded the police after her, as if she had been a drab of low degree. Nobody would acknowledge her with a black face. So they all hoot at her, and call her "nigger." If here and there a man reand call her "nigger." If here and there a man remonstrates that liberty, whether red, white, or blue, or even black, is still liberty, they how and gnach their teeth, and ask him with inconsequent logic, "Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger? Is a nigger It is stated that Pierce Butler's arrest was caused by and call her "nigger." If here and there a man rewant your daughter to marry a nigger? Is a nigger equal to a white man?" So the goddess is suppressed, and the people scoff at her because just now she is black. But why should she monopolize all the glories national song? Why don't some enthusiastic Douglas Democrat string his harp to the glories of Popular Sovereignty"? some tuneful Breckinridge "Topular Sovereignty" some tuneful Breckinridge man pipe on "State Rights"? or some gallant Republican immortalize the theme of "Free Soil" led newspaper, which has been advocating peace and compromise, was gutted to-night by a mob. Colonel Johnson, Congressman elect, was burned in effigy, "The Union, the Constitution, and enforcement of the publican immortalize the theme of "Free Soil"? Laws," and have it sung in the Ledger? The arguments and appeals applied by the Abolitionists to the American conscience are now being seconded by four hundred millions of arguments addressed by Congress to a far more sensitive part of the American organism, viz., its pocket, and the Abolitionists will be called on to furnish the excuse for putting down the slavery at whose bidding they have so long been mobbed, and the National Hymn may yet be sung in the name of Laws," and have it sung in the Ledger ? The arguintellectual greatness, no art of diplomacy, no politi-intellectual greatness, no art of diplomacy, no politi-cal jugglery or statesmanship, no wisdom or power of the National Hymn may yet be sung in the name of

J. B. LYON. dead. vivalist.

being the people to a stronger love of the absolute Right, and to induce them to stand by it at whatever cost, and, with their best efforts, encourage them to grasp the great ideas of the age, and become equal to the demands of the times.

Respectfully, N. P. Jr.

THE TRIAL HOUR.

Dear Garrison:

Am I too desponding in expressing my forebodings that our trial-hour is at hand? To my mind, the douls are shutting down with thick darkness. There may be a "silver lining" the other side, but sober facts and daily observation impel me to deep and the mass of the people there is nothing but inhumbred the mass of the people there is nothing but inhumbred the manhood of the slave would change the whole die of affairs.

Politicians are on the alert. Already are they beginning to divide with the choice rather to "reign in the than serve in heaven." They seize upon the spenting depression in business—persuade the poor that something must be done to avoid destitution—that the dollar and bread are more than the "nigger," (to use their common and degrading dialect.) They look toward the suppression of free speech, lusting for power to work mischief on the heads of Abolitionists. A citizens' or mass meeting was called in miliford last Thursday evening, to induce men to volunteer for the war. At an early sta

Abolitionists to "lie upon their oars"—not the time to suspend our meetings. Now, if ever, we should

——"be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate."

I have been incited to these reflections by the stirring words of our devoted and ever-vigilant friend, Parker Pillsbury, from whom—on the eve of his departure for the far West—I have just received a timely note:—

"Concord, (N. H.) Aug. 12, 1861.

Dear Friend:—\* \* \* I should haste to Milford, as you desired, but my destiny seems to be ever towards the setting sun. In a fortnight, should my plans succeed, you will hear of me beyond the Alleghanies. \* \* \* I came near getting mobbed last Sunday, for saying even less injured.

was about midnight.

That it was a most perilous undertaking will at once be seen from the fact that we were in reach of the shell from Fortress Monroe and the steamers which had been seen lying about, and also the fact that the Yankees had a regiment of infantry not far from the bridge, and could have easily made an attack on us. Having the advantage of the light from the burning houses, they could have opened a most disastrous fire upon us. There was danger, also, of a reinforcement from Newport News, although Gen. Magruder had guarded all points with pickets.

brother, and grant him strength "sufficient unto his day"!

G. W. S.

Milford, (Mass.) Aug. 19, 1861.

THE WAR AND SLAVERY.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR SIR,—Some weeks ago, in noticing General Butler's twaddle in answer to a rebuke from Governor Andrew, you devoted a few words to the "Horrors of St. Domingo." In one of Mr. Phillips's speeches, he alluded to an insurrection of slaves in a Danish West India island. The popular ideas on the dangers of freeing slaves are utterly disproved by these two instances: the popular mind will soon open to a demand for such information. In freeing the slaves of the Southern States, the North will seek relief from the intolerable burdens of the present war, and will readily listen to what, from party spirit and religious prejudice, it has heretofore denied, very willing of an excuse to do what its own interest requires. In a thirty years' war on slavery, our friends have accumulated every fact bearing on this subject. Possibly Mr. Phillips has combined them in one of his noble speeches. If so, is it in a pamphlet form? Mrs. Child's "Right Way, the Safe Way," is invaluable as bearing on British West India emancipation. But the leading facts of all the instances of negro emancipation in this State are conducting their warfare upon principles worthy of Thugs and Comanches. Assassination is their stone point, and they seem to delight in the indiscriminate slaughter of friends and focs. A few days since, an aged and infirm citizen was shot dead upon his own porch. Two old and peaceable residents of Potosi, Washington county, with their wives and children, are here, stopping at Barnum's Hotel. They were driven from their homes, and children, as well as men, will never be suppressed until a terrible example is made of some of the human ware and should be treated as outlaws the human ware and should be treated as outlaws the human ware and should be treated as outlaws to the human ware and should be treated as outlaws the human ware and should be treated as outlaws the human ware as bearing on British West India emancipation. But the leading facts of all the instances of negro emancipation, condensed in a modest sized pamphlet, will sell well in a few months.

The war looks somewhat discouraging at present. Lyon in the South-West corner of Missouri, and But-

intercepted letters giving information to the enemy Among the important events of last week is the arrest at Washington of C. J. Faulkner, of Vir-ginia, the late American Minister to France. He is suspected of laboring in behalf of the Confederation abroad, and is supposed to have been appointed a Brigadier General in the rebel army.

HUBBARDSTON. Mr. E. H. Heywood of Boston gave an address in Hubbardston on Sunday, 11th inst., on "The War." The Unitarian church had been engaged for him the week previous, and notices of his meeting were read from the pulpits. But during the week some turbulent individuals threatened disorder, and the parish committee deemed it proper to revise their decision. Boisterous efforts were made to prevent his obtaining any place to fulfil his appointment; but, on the guarantee of three responsible citizens for any damage which might occur, the Mechanics' Hall was finally secured. The meeting, thus liberally advertised, was of course very large, and Mr. Heywood was favored with an attentive and respectful andience, not a whisper of disturbance being heard during his interesting address.—Worcester Spy.

PRIZE OF \$100 .- The Church Anti-Slavery Society PRIZE OF \$100.—The Church Anti-Slavery Society has reissued its offer of a prize of \$100 for an acceptable tract which is not to exceed twenty-four pages, on the question: "How shall Christians and Christian Churches best absolve themselves from all responsible connection with slavery?" This prize was offered last year, but the number of competitors was few, and the efforts were not deemed worthy of popular circulation. The time is now extended to January 1, 1862. Manuscripts are to be sent to either of the following Committee on adjudication: The Rev. J. C. Webster, Hopkinton, Mass.; Deacon J. Washburn, Worcester, Mass.; the Rev. Samuel Souther, Worcester, Mass.

Death of Prominent Citizens. Deacon Samuel Greeley, a well-known Boston citizen, died at Swampscot, on the 16th inst., aged 78 years. He was a graduate of Harvard College, of the, class of 1802, and has been a member of the Legislature, and also of the Board of Aldermen.

Nathaniel Faxon, Esq., for so many years a leading member of the shoo and leather trade, at the well-known sign of the big shoe, Dock Square, died in this city, 16th inst., at the advanced age of 84 years. Mr. F. came to this city a poor boy, worked industriously, and rose gradually until he accumulated a very large fortune.

fortune.

A despatch received in this city Monday morning from Plymouth, Mass., announces the death of Rev. J. S. Clark, D. D., for many years Secretary of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, and at the time of his decease Corresponding Secretary of the Congregational Library Association.

Gen. Fremont has wisely established martial law in St. Louis, appointed Major McKinstry, of the U. S. Army, Provost Marshal, and arrested the President of the Board of Police Commissioners, John A. Brownlee. The Provost Marshal has issued stringent orders against wearing concealed weapons, the sale of fire-arms, &c., and a fleet of steamers has been concentrated at St. Louis for safe keeping.

New York, August 17th. The Herald reports the discovery of an attempt to blow up Fort Columbus, on Governor's Island. Four men are represented to have gone there Monday night, with the intention of laying a train to blow up the magazine and destroy several hundred tons of powder, and a large number of soldiers quartered there. The authors of the infamous scheme escaped. The sentry who passed them to the Island is mission. Island is missing.

The Income Tax. The National Intelligencer says that the President of the United States will pay seven hundred and twenty-six dollars, and each member of the Cabinet two hundred and sixteen dollars under

of the Cabinet two hundred and sixteen dollars under the tax on incomes laid by Congress.

The "Shark Guards," a company of New Hampshire volunteers, embraces in its ranks several men who measure over six feet, and one who towers up to the height of six feet and seven and one half inches. THE PRINCE NAPOLEON COMING TO BOSTON. It

THE PRINCE NAPOLEON COMING TO BOSTON. It is stated on good authority that Prince Napoleon will visit this city in about two weeks. It is his desire to avoid all public display.

The Horace Greeley, who has been confined to his house for the last three weeks from serious illness, is recovering, though still unable to attend to business. He had a severe attack of brain fever, which at one time threatened to prove fatal. at one time threatened to prove fatal.

The "Fraternity" propose to observe the theoming anniversary of the birthday of the lat e Theodore Parker by suitable exercises at Allston Hall, on Friday evening, the 23d inst. Brief addresses will be made by several of Mr. Parker's friends, interspersed with music, and the occasion will doubtless be one of much interest.

Free tickets of admission may be had at the Anti-Slavery Office. Addresses by Wendell Phillps, W. L. Garrison, E. H. Heywood, and others.

MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homeopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies nd Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayor, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.;

John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me. Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to

DIED-In Springfield, August 11, of cholera infantum,

RAYMOND DANFORTH, son of E. W. and Frank O. D. Clark, ged 10 months and 9 days.

WEST NEWTON English and Classical School.

THE next term will begin Wednesday, Sept. 1, 1861.
Both sexes are received as family or day pupils.
For particulars, address
NATHANIEL T. ALLEN.
West Newton, Aug. 15.

HOPEDALE

HOME SCHOOL.

THE next Term of this Reformatory and Progressive Institution will commence on Wednesday, Sept. 4, and continue Fifteen weeks. For full particulars, please address WM. S. HAYWOOD, Principal. Milford, Mass., Aug. 6, 1861.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

THE subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle st., for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is a pleasant one, within a few minutes' walk of the meet central portions of the city. Every exertion will be made for the comfort of those who may favor the house with a call. Rooms furnished with, or without board. Terms medicate. erms moderate.
Boston, Jan. 7.
S. NEWELL.

NOW READY. SERMONS AND SPEECHES BY GERRIT SMITH:
containing his Six Sermons on the Religion of Reason,
and three of his recent Speeches—one of them delivered
lately, on the War. Price 50 cents.
For sale by
July 19.—4t
No. 121 Nassau street, N. Y.

PARKER \$40 Sewing Machines, PRICE FORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were awarded a Silver Medal at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

\*\*F Sales Room, 188 Washington street.\*\*

Agents wanted everywhere.

All kinds of Sowing Machine work done at short notice. Boston, Jan. 18, 1861.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY. Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massachusetts

Charitable Mechanic Association. "FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACRINES. This Machine is constructed that it embraces the combinations of the va-

rious patents owned and used by Elias Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's improvements, make it a beautiful Machine. They are sold from \$40 to \$120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The feed, which is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, pos-itive and complete. The apparatus for guaging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another featura which strikes your committee favorably, vis: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no danger from oil or dirt. This machine makes the double don Times need give itself no farther anxiety about the interests of English capitalists in this matter.

Ex-Governor Adams of South Carolina is dead. He was an old secessionist and slave-trade revivalist.

Carolina is dead. He was an old secessionist and slave-trade revivalist.

# Poetry.

### NOT YET.

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

Oh country, marvel of the earth! O resim, to sudden greatness grown The age that gloried in thy birth Shall it behold thee overthrown? Shall traitors lay that greatness low? No, land of Hope and Blessing, No!

And we who wear thy glorious name, Shall we, like cravens, stand apart, When those whom thou hast trusted aim The death-blow at thy generous heart? Forth goes the battle-cry, and, lo !

And they who founded, in our land, The power that rules from sea to sea, Bled they in vain, or vainly planned To leave their country great and free? Their sleeping ashes from below Send up the thrilling murmur, No !

Knit they the gentle ties which long These sister States were proud to wear, And forged the kindly links so strong For idle hands in sport to tear-No. by our fathers' memory, No !

Our humming marts, our iron ways, Our wind-tossed woods on mountain crest, The hoarse Atlantic, with his bays, The calm, broad Ocean of the West, And Mississippi's torrent flow, And loud Niagara, answer, No

Not yet the hour is nigh, when they Who deep in Eld's dim twilight sit, Earth's ancient kings shall rise and say, " Proud country, welcome to the pit So soon art thou, like us, brought low !" No, sullen group of shadows, No ! For now, behold, the arm that gave

The victory in our fathers' days, Strong, as of old, to gnard and saveat mighty arm which none can stay-On clouds above and fields below, Writes, in men's sight, the answer, No!

### From "Temple Bar" Magazine THREE TIMES.

First time I saw my Love, my eyes Were gladdened with a sweet surprise; There woke a thought that never dies. That bright June morning. A vision, fairly clad in white, Dawned softly, freshly on my sight, And in her hand were roses bright-June roses, pare from speck or blight,

Last time I saw my Love, she lay The light of life had died away ; O, sad and sweet last time And still she were a robe of white. And on her pillow, lightly prest, And in the hand that lay at rest. Solemnly on her peaceful breast, Gathered before their prime. But my dead Love was far more fair.

A glorious garment, white as snow, On which no stains of earth can show-A garment meet for heaven-Will robe the form I love to see : My angel-love, who waits for me. And holds a palm of victory For earth's white roses given.

## OVER THE WAY.

Gone in her childish purity, Out from the golden day; Fading away in the light so sweet, Where the silver stars and the sunbeams meet, Paving the path for her silent feet, Over the silent way.

Over her hosom tenderly The pearl-white hands are prest; The lashes lie on her cheeks so thin, Where the softest blush of the rose has been, Shutting the blue of her eyes within The pure lids closed in rest.

Over the sweet brow lovingly Twineth her sunny hair ; She was so fragile that Love sent down From his heavenly gems, that soft bright crown, To shade her brow with its waves so brown, Light as the dimpling air.

Gone to sleep with a tender smile Froze on her tender lips. By the farewell kiss of her dewy breath, Cold in the clasp of the angel Death-Like the last fair bud of the fading wreath Whose bloom the white frost nips.

Robin-hushed in your downy bed. Over the swinging bough-Do you miss her voice from your glad duet, When the dew in the heart of the rose is set. Till its velvet lips with the essence wet In orient crimson glow?

Rosebud-under your shady leaf, Hid from the sunny day—
Do you miss the glance of the eyes so bright, Whose blue was heaven in your timid sight It is beaming now in the world of light Over the starry way.

Hearts-where the darling's head hath lain Held by love's shining ray—
Do you know that the touch of her gentle ha Doth brighten the harp in the unknown land! Oh, she waits for us with the angel band Over the starry way.

## From the Monthly Religious Magazine

they that are with them."-2 Kings, 6:16,

SAFETY OF THE RIGHTEOUS. "Fear not; for they that are with us are more

The wicked and the base do compass round The pure and humble in their righteous way, And with fierce onset, and the trumpet's sound, They seek the servants of the Lord to slay; They trust in wealth, or in the eruel sword, Vain idols, that cannot defend or save ! They fear no threatenings of God's holy Word, But, trusting in themselves alone, are brave. But though no human help the righteous know, They fear not in the last, the trying hour God, through his gracious love to them, doth show The unseen hosts and ensigns of his power, Which compass them about on every side, In whose protection they may safe confide.

### UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. Thy hill-tops, New England, shall leap at the cry, And the prairie and far-distant West shall reply ;

It shall roll o'er the land, till the fartherest glen Gives back the glad summons again and again. Oppression shall hear in its temple of blood,

And read on its wall the hand-writing of God; Niagara's torrent shall thunder it forth, It shall burn in the sentinel star of the North.

In the anthem of Nature for millions set free.

It shall blaze in the lightning, and speak in the thund And Freedom her rights has triumphantly won And our country her garments of beauty put on. The forests shall hear it, and lift up their voice, And bid the green prairies and valleys rejoice; And the Father of Waters join Mexico's sea

# The Tiberator.

HENRY C. WRIGHT TO JAMES HAUGHTON. On which rests the Responsibility of the present War of

Bullets and Bayonets between Liberty and Slavery, the North or the South? MONROE CENTRE, (Maine,) July 20, 1861.

To James Haughton, Dublin, Ireland: DEAR JAMES-In a recent letter to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, you ask-" What is H. C. Wright doing in this crisis?" Doing his duty to his God and his kind, in resisting tyrants, by such means as to him seem just,

I have carefully read your letter. Two prombullets was begun by the North; (2) that Abolitionists have swerved from their principles, as Abolitionists and as Peace-men. In both I think you unintentionally misjudge us. Allow me to narrate the simple whelming scourge that is now upon us.

to this, these two Ideas have been contending for the mastery. The issue has been-Shall Liberty or Sla-

As early as 1820, a plan was formed by the slavemain, together with Mexico and all Central America, and the islands adjacent. The Missouri Compromise was then formed, giving over all south of 36 deg. 30 min. to slavery, and nominally excluding it from all north of that line. In the discussions in Congress at or out of it; by the aid of the Federal Government, to prepare for the final struggle for mastery in the Legislative, Judicial, or Executive State, and in all the territories.

From 1820, slaveholders bent their energies to have it recognized as a fact, by every department of the government, and by the whole people, that the security, perpetuity and unlimited extension of slavery Congress, the Supreme Court, and the Executive, terpretations. The will of the slaveholder became the supreme law of the land. By threats of dissolution and civil war, the North was driven to admit the Constitution to be just what he said it was. In fact, society, and slave-institutions, as actualities, must be protected and perpetuated under the Constitution. Meantime, the slaveholders proceeded steadily and The entire nation seemed to be prostrated under stealthily to carry out their plan to destroy the old the feet of the slaveholder, and to have lost the government-as follows:-To run it in debt-to dethe Presidents of the United States, in their annual reach for immediate use-to rob its Northern armories messages, recommended that resistance to the en- and navy-yards, and place their contents in slave croachments of slavery should be made treason States, and within ready reach of slaveholders-to

this war of Ideas ina Ideas had been embodied in the government-LIB- federacy-to get that confederacy recognized by for tire circle of life in the North was based on liberty. tion to the rule of slavery and slave institutions. The habits of thought, feeling and action, and the enfeeling in the North were, in part, the natural fruits scattered where they were controlled by the slave

liberty. Events favored slavery; and free life, free bloody rule of slavery.

It was supposed, that if the war of Ideas could be tarring and feathering, and hanging all suspect the existence, extension and perpetuity of slavery, as and its archives ;-these enormities aroused and unit the history of the past thirty years will attest.

murderous character of slavery, and the bloody designs people of the North, enter into the war to settle the of slaveholders. These had determined, as events question, now and forever, whether free institutions

have proved, that, in case the war of Ideas should cultheir defeat at the communio lot-box, they would inaugurate a war of bullets, and compel the North to meet them on the field of blood. They have appealed from the field of THOUGHT to the field of DEATH.

Of course, in arraigning slavery, and calling for its overthrow, the Abolitionists arraigned and con-demned every thing in the social, religious, political and commercial institutions and customs of the country that sanctioned and sustained it. Near the beginning of this war of Ideas, John C. Calhoun declared that such a war against slavery, and against the character of slaveholders, was far more to be dreaded by the South than a war of bullets and bayonets against their

inent points are presented in it-(1) that this war of Baptist and Presbyterian Churches, as national bodies, were divided into Northern and Southern, enslaving and non-enslaving divisions. Slaveholders could find no security for slavery in a union with Northern churches. They seceded, and formed Southern facts respecting the origin and object of the over- churches, based on slavery and the slave-trade, as their chief corner-stone. The discussion respecting Two antagonistic Ideas have been embodied in our the Bible and Church support of slavery prepared the national government, as it has been administered ever minds of millions in the North for a discussion of the since it went into operation, March 4, 1789-LIBER. question of a Constitutional and Governmental sup-TY and SLAVERY. The former is the thought of port of slavery. A political party arose in the North, the North; the latter, of the South. From that day that denied the constitutional right of slavery to extend itself into territory beyond that which it now occupied. A majority of the voters seized the idea, very-Free Labor or Slave Labor-Free Institutions and carried it to the polls in several successive presior Slave Institutions-hold dominion over the nation | dential and congressional elections. The party grew rapidly. It claimed to be in its principles and tion strictly constitutional. Its object was not the holders to subject to Slavery the entire national do-non-existence of slavery where it now is, but its nonexistence where it is not. "No further extension of slavery" was its motto. On this issue, its final triumph seemed secure.

The slaveholders took the alarm. More loudly and menacingly than ever, they threatened civil war and that time, this plan was clearly unfolded. It seemed the overthrow of the Government, should the Repubso wild and improbable that the North laughed at it; lican party get possession of it. True to their purbut from that hour the Slave Oligarchy have kept pose to secure the lasting empire of slavery in the that object steadily in view. It was then determined Union, or out of it, by the aid of the government, or that slavery should be made to triumph, in the Union, on its ruins, they began more openly and earnestly or on its ruins. They expected to do it by its aid. if the Republicans got control of the Government, It had wholly subserved the slave interest thus far, they could no longer use it as a means to further In every instance where the two Ideas had grappled their plans. Hence, they matured their scheme of Secession in all its details. They saw that the Govdepartment of the Government, slavery had triumph- ernment, in the hands of the new party, must have ed. Slaveholders, having forced the North into sub- freedom and free labor for its basis; and, consequentjection in the Missouri conflict, were emboldened to ly, must come to mean the non-existence as well as think that, in due time, they could compel it to allow the non-extension of slavery. In short, as they viewslaves to be held and protected in every Northern ed it, it must become an Abolition Government; the active, deadly, eternal foe to the existence, prosperity, perpetuity and propagation of slavery.

Under these circumstances, "the peaceful, quiet secession," of which you speak, was out of the question. Secession with them meant the total and abso were guaranteed by the Constitution. Slavery inter- lute destruction of the United States Constitution preted that instrument to suit itself, and compelled and Government; an exterminating war upon a free Constitution, a free Government, free laboration and, through them, the whole people, to accept its in- stitutions, free schools, and, as one of their leading organs expresses it, (the Richmond Examiner,) "every thing that has the prefix free to it."

Secession-the formation of a Southern Confederacy, based upon slavery and slave-labor as its "corthe will of the slaveholder became the Constitution of ner-stone "-the destruction of the United States the National Government, and nearly every State gov- Constitution and Government, and the substitution of ernment, North as well as South. To speak, to print, their slave Constitution and Confederacy in its stead, or in any way to act, or even to think or feel for lib- with Washington for its capital-this was their proerty and against slavery, was deemed unconstitution- gramme. Leading Abolitionists penetrated their plan al-that is, against the will, the interests and designs of of gigantic wrong and outrage, and promptly and earslaveholders. Slavery, as an Idea, or an abstract nestly exposed it. But the Northern mind, generally, right, must be acknowledged, and slave-labor, slave- could not or would not take the alarm. The villany seemed too vast, the crime too dark and horrible.

power of domestic, social, commercial, literary, po- prive it of its means to pay-to ruin its credit-to litical, religious, or military resistance to his insolent seize and retain its forts, arsenals, custom-houses and and bloody rule. Governors of Northern States, and mints-to send its navy to distant seas, beyond its against the Constitution and Union, and punished as distribute its troops into slave States-to corrupt the officers in its army and navy, and get them to resign In 1830, William Lloyd Garrison inaugurated a wan when the time for action came-to have all foreign OF IDEAS against slavery, and in defence of freedom embassies filled by slaveholders-to call conventions and free institutions. He arraigned slavery before in the slave States, and formally declare them out of the tribunal of Humanity, as a wrong which no the Union-to form a new government, professedly power in the universe could make right-as "the recognizing slavery as its basis, and its support as sum of all villanies." He called for its immediate and their only object—to repudiate all debts due the North nuconditional abolition. Farnest determined and in the South—to confiscate all stocks and bonds held philanthropic souls gathered around him, to prosecute by the North against the South-to inaugurate a syswar unto death or victory. To understand tem of privateering (piracy) against commerce, "the urated by Garrison, and the peculiar institution" of the North-to drive all Northwork which he and his coadjutors found before them ern men and women out of the South, or compel them to be done, I would revert to the fact, that two to swear allegiance to or fight for the slaveocratic con-ERTY and SLAVERY. These two Ideas had taken eign powers-to prostrate commerce and manufac--the latter of the South, the former of tures in the North by withholding cotton, and thus the North. In their nature they were antagonistic drive it to bankruptcy and ruin-to excite mobs in all and irreconcilable; and a truce or a compromise be- Northern towns and cities to put down all exposure tween them was as impossible as between gunpow- and opposition to slavery and the plans of slaveder and fire, or truth and falsehood. The family, the holders-and, finally, to expel the Administration from church, the school, the college, finance, commerce, Washington, seize the capital and the archives of the and local government; the entire individual, domes- United States government, and inaugurate there the tic, social, ecclesiastical, literary, financial and political life of the South, were based on slavery; the en- the country, and compel the entire North into subjec-

Such is the plan which is known to have been me tire character of the South, were the natural fruits of turely formed in all its details, previous to the adan Idea that turned human beings into brutes and vent of the present Administration on the 4th of last chattels; that ignored, absolutely, all rights of proper- March. In most of its details, it has been literally ty, person and family, and made men, women and carried out. That Administration, on its assuming children mere articles of merchandise, to be bought the reins of the government, found the treasury in and sold in the shambles. The habits of thought and debt \$25,000,000; its resources dried up; its troops of an Idea, that asserted and respected these rights, holders, and but one ship of war, of any account, at and revolted at the practice of holding and using men its command; its Northern arsenals plundered, and its Southern arsenals, mints, custom-houses, and forts Consequently, the entire life of the South must, of mostly in the hands of the traitors, and the principal necessity, be as hostile to the life of the North as is officers in the army and navy resigned and resigning, slavery to liberty. There could be no more harmo- and gone over to the interests of the slave-breeding ny between the life and character of the North and conspirators. Never was a governmental Administra South, than between the two moral and eternal contion apparently so helpless. The prospect was that ditions on which they are founded. Northern life the entire North, with all her free institutions, free must yield to slavery, or Southern life must yield to labor, and free homes, must fall beneath the iron and

society, and free institutions fell prostrate before the Do you ask, "What saved the North from that piratical tyrant. The North became the mere body- doom?" The slaveholders themselves. How? Two guard of the slave-breeding, slave-driving, slave-tra- forts in the South-Sumter and Pickens-were preding South-the mere watch-dogs of its slave-barra- vented by the government from falling into the hands coons. The first thing to be done, in their war of of the rebels. In their hot haste and madness, they Ideas, by the Abolitionists, was to rescue Northern gathered ten thousand armed men around Fort Sumlife, in all its modes of manifestation, from the doter, in Charleston harbor, to annihilate a little party minion of slavery; especially to rescue the literature, of seventy under Anderson, and opened their batthe press, the politics and religion of the North from teries upon them, simply because the government that debasing and insolent rule. We said to the peo- sought to supply them with food. The ten thousand ple-"Wherever you feel it your duty to live and chivalrous (?) and valorous (?) Southrons triumphed act, whether in the Church or in the State-whether over the seventy. Repudiation of two hundred millions in a political or religious party-whether in the pul- of dollars due from the South to the North; confiscapit or on the platform-whether at the ballot-box or tion of stocks and bonds held by the North against the communion-table-there live and act for liberty, the South; the blockade of the Mississippi against the produce and commerce of the North-West; whipping, made to culminate in the North, in a majority in Northerners found in the South; calling on the pirates the Church and State, at the communion-table and of the world to make war upon Northern commerce; ballot-box, against slavery, and in favor of freedom marching an army of fifty thousand upon the capital, and free institutions, the South would submit to that and the murder of Northern soldiers in Baltimore decision, and allow the majority to rule in regard to who were hastening to the defence of their capital in all other questions of social, religious and govern- the North, and convinced them that resistance, or unmental polity. Thus it was hoped by Garrison and conditional submission to the Slave Power, was the his associates that the great and irrepressible conflict only alternative left them. Shall liberty or slavery rule between Liberty and Slavery might be settled in a the North, the nation, and the continent? The South bloodless battle of Ideas. How faithfully, how ear- forced this great issue upon the North; and this is nestly, how heroically the Abolitionists have labored now the sole and single issue in this conflict. Politito work out this bloodless result in favor of freedom, cians, office-seekers and compromisers may call it a he history of the past thirty years will attest.

But, even Abolitionists had not fully fathomed the the entire slaveholding South, and nine-tenths of the

or slave institutions shall have abiding and exclusive the stories that are told of even this sort of work-

empire over this nation and the western continent.
You ask, "Is this statement of facts true?" Yes, if the slaveholders are to be trusted in their statements of their own plans and purposes; for it is derived from the public speeches and documents of Davis, Stephens, Yancey, Wigfall, Cobb, Rhett, Wise, and many other living actors in this great movement to secure, propagate and perpetuate slavery and slave institutions: from the organs of this slave confederation. institutions; from the organs of this slave confederacy, and from the speeches and action of the Southern plotters and perpetrators of treason against justice and humanity for the last forty years. To this end, and humanity for the last forty years. To this end, and humanity for the last forty years. To this end, the South sought the abolition of a government, designed to "secure the blessings of liberty," and to place in its stead and in its capital a government designed to secure and perpetuate the theft, robbery, concubinage, murder, piracy, and barbarism of slacence while liberty west concubinage, murder, piracy, and barbarism of slacence while liberty west concubinage, murder, piracy, and barbarism of slacence while liberty west concubinage. concubinage, murder, piracy, and barbarism of slavery. Slavery could not be secure while liberty was allowed to exist by its side. Slave labor and slave institutions could never be safe while free labor and free institutions were tolerated by them. A government based on slavery could never be sustained, while a government based on liberty was allowed to exist in its presence. This, Calhoun and all the prominent men in this movement to sustain "the sum of all villanies" well knew.

The North so far as this war is concerned, stands

The North, so far as this war is concerned, stands it necessary to make temporary arrangements for precisely in the same relation to the South as the ple are prepared to die, when such an alternative is defence of freedom and free institutions, and in armed resistance to slaveholders in their plans and efforts to enslave them. The South says to the North, "The decisive hour is come. I appeal from the battle of enslave them. The South says to the North, "The decisive hour is come. I appeal from the battle of

South. Do you wonder at this great uprising ?-that the North has sent four hundred thousand armed men for to meet their enslavers on the field of death? and that four hundred millions of dollars are appropriated to their support? Tested by their own acknowledged were soon covered with dust thrown over them by aw of life, they would prove themselves to be what Davis, Stephens, Yancey, Wigfall, and the slaveholders generally, have declared them to be-"the most owardly, most contemptible, and most detestable of God's creation," were they to do otherwise.

" Quiet, peaceful secession"! You and I are partners in business. We differ in our modes of conducting our business. I insist on my way. You will no yield. I secede-i.e., I proceed to destroy your business; to burn your shop, your stores, your goods, and take your life. You rise to defend yourself; to resist no longer endanger your existence. I cry out against you as a coercionist, and say, "Why not allow me quietly and peacefully to secede ?" Exactly thus it is between the North and South. Slavery says to liber- saw a ty, "Why not let me quietly and peacefully secede? e., Why not lie still, and let me cut your throat? When liberty starts into life to defend itself, and place slavery where it can no more harm any one, shall her friends say, "Let the pirate alone-you cannot sub-

Be assured, my dear friend, all the calamities re sulting from this war of bullets, between the North and South, whether they be felt in this or in other lands, will, by the historian, be laid solely to the slaveount. The North would gladly have decided the question of slavery and slavery extension, in a battle of ideas culminating in ballots rather than in bullets. As decided by the ballot of last fall, the South would not accept it. They resolved to appeal to a battle of bullets, and to compet the North to accept the challenge, or be SLAVES! Time will decide whether a bullet can do more to sustain and perpetuate slavery and slave institutions than an idea had

In view of my narrative of facts, I ask you, and all our friends across the sea, to judge whether the North is deserving your sympathy and support, or your conditional deliberately bayonet one of our wounded men, who our friends across the sea, to judge whether the North demnation. I cannot but look to this conflict as one was lying near the bank of the stream. Even in that must surely end in the ultimate abolition of sla- the exigency of the moment, Col. Ch. very. No power, as it looks to me, can stay the hand his horse, rode up to the rebel, and shot him dead. now put forth to strike the monster dead.

You think we ignore our peace principles, in our answer to that at another time. Meanwhile, Gop HENRY C. WRIGHT.

## REBEL ATROCITIES ON THE BATTLE-FIELD.

SHOCKING TREATMENT OF THE WOUNDED.

Almost too horrible for credence is the statement of the bayoneting of men who were disarmed and wounded, and incapable of further hostilities: it is capable of further hostilities; it is miliatingly sad to have to believe that our sur eons were charged on and cut down by the rebel cavalry, while engaged in their professional duties, and while under the shadow of their surgeon's green shadow of their surgeon's green scarf and flag—to believe that our hurt and dying men were deliberately stabbed with bayonets, and cut to pieces with sabres, and trampled with savage glee and malice under the horses' hoofs of the Black Horse Cavalry-to believe that ambulances, filled with wounded men, were blown up by skillfully projected shells—to believe that every group of four men, seen bearing from the field a wounded soldier, was made the target, not of the musket of a com-mon soldier, not of a single piece of artillery which might be thus aimed by a single excited and consible gunner, but of whole batteries of rifled on, aimed, elevated and fired by command of the officers in charge, whose field glasses were brought into constant requisition to determine the exact distance, and insure the utmost precision of air but when to these atrocities is superadded the state-ment that a hospital, filled with wounded men and attending surgeons, surrounded by ambulances, and flying the hospital flag, was shelled, and was afterward deliberately set on fire and burned to the ground, broiling alive our suffering and helpless wounded men, the assertion is too monstrous to merit belief, until established by evidence of a naare that cannot be controverted.

officers, who were eye-witnesses of these things, is

To advance backward, and give the conclusion before stating the premises, I will say that the proofs are overwhelming and incontrovertible, that our Surgeon went to his assistance, tound him, and at-

I proceed to adduce my proofs.

For the information of the uninitiated, let me premise certain things that are so simple that it may seem folly on my part, but I think it will have its use. An ambulance is a spring carriage for carry-

precisely in the same relation to the South as the traveller holds to the highway robber, the victim to the midnight assassin, or the peaceful merchantman to the pirate on the high seas. The highwayman says, "Your money or your life"; the traveller must fight, yield or die. The midnight assassin says to his victim, "I shall kill you, or you must kill me"; the victim must kill or be killed. The pirate says to the merchantman, "I shall slaughter and plunder you, or you must kill and plunder me." Shall he resist, or die? Not one in a hundred of the Abolitions, not one in ten thousand of the Northern people are prepared to die, when such an alternative is attention of the sale care of the wounded, he selects a place as much sheltered as may be—generally in a ravine or behind a hill, and, if possible, under a tree. When the surgeon goes to work, he generally takes off his green sash, and hangs it on a prominent branch of the tree, or displays it on a musket stuck in the manner of a flag, to show that the place is under the immediate care of a surgeon, and is to be respected accordingly. Whether the surgeon thus displays his flag or not, his position cannot be mistaken for anything else. The wounded men lying about, the cruel instruments in view, the busy doctors in their shrit-sleeves, and all the surroundings, attest the nature of the business there going on, attest the nature of the business there going on, presented, rather than kill. They believe in an armed defence of freedom and free institutions, and in armed ture, to the best feelings, and the safest protection of

decisive hour is come. I appeal from the battle of ideas to the battle of bullets; from the field of thought to the field of death. Slavery and liberty can no longer exist, each in the presence of the other; the grave is dug, and one or the other must be buried in it so deep Indig and one of the other must be other in its order in the most and the intermediate in the intermediate of infantry. The shots struck on every side of the flying balls. Finally, a shell thrown by the rifled cannon battery struck in the centre of the group, exploded, and killed five men of those who were bearing the dying Colonel. The battery con-tinued to play on them until they were out of range, but they escaped without further serious

Lieut. Elliott says that the shots which struck near them were not the chance shots of a general engagement, but were aimed at them specially— they were discovered by the field glasses of the ness; to burn your shop, your stores, your goods, and take your life. You rise to defend yourself; to resist them, and place me in a position where I can make your life. You rise to defend yourself; to resist them, and played on them till they were out of range—and with what murderous effect has been

There was no possibility of mistaking the nature of this group, or their humane errand. The rebels saw a number of men bearing from the field a wounded officer, and instead of withholding their fire, invariably the practice of a civilized foe, they scientifically took the exact range of the retreating group, and brought a whole battery to bear on them, killing nearly half of them before they had succeeded in placing their dying Colonel in a place of safety.
Col. Wood, of the 14th New York Regiment,

(Brooklyn,) being wounded, was placed in an am-bulance, and was being carried off the field. The ambulance was fired at persistently by a battery of rifled cannon. A projectile from one of these guns at last took off the top of the ambulance, passed on and killed three men of the Rhode Island Battery, and dismounted their gun. The fire was kept up so unremittingly, that the men in charge of the ambulance were forced to leave it. In this case, also, the ambulance was made a special target, and was fired at until it was probably destroyed.

Lieut. Colonel Joseph J. Chambers, now com-manding the New York 28th Volunteers, the Colo-nel being wounded and in the infirmary, tells the

following story:— Lieut. Colonel Chambers was in the thickest of the fight, and while he himself was hastening for rein-

Surgeon Barnes, of the New York 28th Volun-teers, was in the fight all through, and came out of nanner of treating the war. I would like to make and all his surgical instruments, having been charged on by the Black Horse Cavalry, and compelled to by the Black Horse Cavalry, and compelled to leave the field, being driven from under a tree where he had established his temporary quarters, and where he was attending to the wounds of about twenty-five injured men, part of whom were seces-

Surgeon Barnes went up to the battle-field in the rear of the attacking column, and as soon as our men began to fall, he took a position with his assistants under a tree, in a little ravine. The wounded sash and hung it on the tree, to signify that the sain and might of the tree, to signify that the place was under the charge of a surgeon. The injured men were brought in rapidly, and in fifteen minutes he had under his charge nearly thirty. As fast as possible, he attended to their hurts, and in a short time had been compelled to perform a number of capital operations. He amputated four legs, three arms, a hand and a foot, and attended to a number of minor injuries. By this time the enemy humber of minor injures. By this time the enemy had discovered the place, and the nature of the business of the men in charge, and began to pour in musket balls and projectiles from rifled cannon. The place became unsafe for the wounded men, and it was seen to be necessary to remove them. The Surgeon's assistants and servant had become separated from him, and he had no one to send for ambulances, and was obliged to leave the wounded men and go himself.

and go himself.

It was no easy matter to procure ambulances enough, and it was probably thirty minutes before the Surgeon returned with the necessary assistance. When he returned, he found that every one of these wounded men had been bayoneted or sabered, and was dead. They were literally cut to pieces.

Sum up these facts. There were thirty men, all dangerously hurt—they had all been cared for by the Surgeon-they were lying on the grass in agoreit belief, until established by evidence of a name that cannot be controverted.

To give the statements of surgeons and other efficers, who were eye-witnesses of these things, is officers, who were eye-witnesses of these things, is the object of this letter.

Be it understood at first that I shall give no irresponsible testimony. I shall not give any of the thousand rumors flying about of outrages said to have been seen, but which cannot be traced and the surgeon's green sash was flying as a flag in the tree, and the Surgeon's instruments were lying in sight, and yet these thirty helpless men were there and then deliberately butchered.

The Surgeon gathered up his instruments, and restricted to state the rear again to resume his

ositively established. I shall give no statement of common soldiers, many of whom are willing to testing duties. He was discovered by the enemy, and, altify to numberless butcheries, but who were, perhaps, excited, and certainly not in a position to see as much as they perhaps supposed. I give only a few accounts, taken from the lips of officers, of things which they themselves saw, and part of pelled to drop his instruments, and retreat as best he could be a supposed.

are overwhelming and incontrovertible, that our wounded men were systematically murdered; that our surgeons were systematically shot down; that cour ambulances were systematically shot down; that our ambulances were systematically blown up by shells; and that at the last, our hospital, a church building, was charged on by cavalry, who rode up and fired their revolvers through the windows at the wounded men as they lay on the floors, and at the surgeons who were attending to their wants, and that the enemy eventually set fire to the building and burned it, and in it scores of wounded and dying men.

Of course, in the excitement of a battle, there will occur cases of individual cruelty to prisoners, and perhaps we should be slow to believe many of

behind, for supposed greater safety. It was soon found that the continual bursting of the shells made it more dangerous outside than within, and the Colonel was again taken inside the walls. His wounds were dressed, and he was, as soon as possible, removed from the church to Fairfax, and thence to Washington, where he is now rapidly recovering. The shelling and ultimate burning of this church is asserted by a cloud of witnesses.

asserted by a cloud of witnesses.

Lieut. Colonel Elliott, of the 79th (Highlanders) N. Y., saw the rebels shelling the building while the hospital flags were flying. He states that the hospital was made a special target, and that the attempt by them to destroy it, and slaughter our wounded men, was deliberate, and was followed up

wounded men, was denocrate, and was followed up with the most persistent perseverance. The surgeon of the 71st New York Regiment Militia was in the hospital, and saw the shelling, and the attempts of the rebels for its utter destro-

Lieut. James Wilson of company G, New York 2d Militia, had charge of the wounded men of his regiment, whom he escorted to the hospital (Sudley Church) and placed them in care of the surgeon, he Church) and placed them in care of the surgeon, he himself remaining to render assistance. In a short time the Black Horse Cavalry charged down to the church, firing in through the windows with their revolvers at the wounded men as they lay on the floors, and at the surgeons in attendance. ber of men attempted to escape through the doors, and were sabred as they came out.

With Lieut. Wilson was a young man named

M'Cook, who was a son of Judge M'Cook, of New York. Wilson and M'Cook ran out of the b to escape, when they were met by the Black Horse Cavalry. M'Cook was shot through the spine, dead, and Wilson was taken prisoner. Cavalry. M Cook was shown. Wilson afterwards and Wilson was taken prisoner. Wilson afterwards escaped; one of the two men who had him in charge shot by our men, and he himself then shot being shot by our men, and he himself then shot the other, who was a captain of the Black Horse Cavalry.

Some members of the New York 71st discovered lieutenant-colonel of an Alabama regiment wounda lieutenant-colonel of an Alabama regiment wounded, and lying on the ground. He threw up his hands and begged for his life, to which response was made, "We did not come here to fight wounded men." They took him to the hospital, (Sudley Church,) where he was cared for by our surgeons. He said, his wounds having been dressed, "Boys, I give you my word of honor that not a man in this control and the line in the light of the said, and the said, the line in the light of the said in the light of the said while I have a breath of give you my word of honor that not a man in this hospital shall be injured while I have a breath of

It is said by some that the rebels removed their own wounded from this hospital; if they did not do so, then this Alabama colonel was roasted alive with our men when the secession army afterward bur the building.

Some members of the 71st also found a wounded

Georgian, whom they cared for, and took to one of our surgeons. After his wounds were dressed, he our surgeons. After his wounds were dressed, he said, "This is more than we would have done for you." He added, "For God's sake, get out of this; you are fighting 100,000 men." This man was so impressed with the kindness of our men that he gave to one of the 71st his pistol as a keepsake Color Sergeant Charles Kent, of the New Fire Zouaves, says he saw the death of Captain Downey, of company D, Fire Zouaves, a member of thirty-four engine company. He states that Downey was overpowered by a superior force; that he threw down his sword, and tossed his arms over his head to show that he was unarmed, and as if begging for mercy, but that he was instantly transfixed by a score of bayonets. Downey had led his company in a gallant charge up to a battery, and the last words be is known to have said to his men wer these: "Boys, remember, New York is looking at

Sergeant S. G. Goodwin, of company H. Fire Zouaves, member of engine 30, saw one of our men lying on his back near his horse; the man was severely wounded, if not already dead. One of the enemy rushed up to him, and thrice pierced him through with his bayonet.

The same man saw a rebel strike at one of our wounded men with a sabre—the blow missing the man's bead, but cut off his hand. One of the Fire Zouaves, who saw the cowardly act, instantly shot the rebel dead.

A member of the New York 2d says he saw one

of our men struck by the fragments of a burstin shell, and knocked down. Two secessionists rod up to him, and finding that, though momentaril stunned, the man was but slightly hurt, one of ther rolled the man over, and the other deliberately cut

s throat with his sabre.
Other instances of the rebel manner of dealing with our wounded men I could cite, but the storie I have told, I think, will establish beyond question the truth of the following conclusion:

1st. That as this slaughter of our wounded was not the work of a single company, or regiment of the enemy, but was going on in all parts of the field at the same time, it was done in obedience to an order from rebel head-quarters.

2d. That, if this is the policy of the enemy, it is to be feared that our own men will retaliate in kind, for their officers will never be able to restrain them in another action.

Every statement in this communication about the treatment of our wounded men by the enemy was taken by me from the lips of the officers, whose names are herein mentioned, and who themselves saw the occurrences. Not a line is hearsay evi-

## STARTLING BUTCHERY.

Since the battle at Bull Run, I have conversed with many officers and soldiers that participated in the contest, and of these, scores have testified to the most shocking acts of torture and barbarity practised upon our wounded by the rebel soldiers. Two fine appearing young men of the Massachusetts Fifth told me of the inhuman butchery of one of their own comrades - a lieutenant in the company in which they belong. He was wounded in the knee, and fell into the hands of the enemy, after crawling some rods in his attempt to escape. He was sur-rounded by a small squad of rebels, one of whom denanded of the wounded loyalist his name and place

"My name, sir, is Frank Smith," replied the prostrate and bleeding soldier, "and I belong to the Fifth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers." "Why don't you say at once that you're a G-d d-d Yankee?" retorted one of the rebel assassins, endu dis brike sla ro on ma the no ma in ex int va

at the same time displaying a long, murderons-looking knife, and with it making such demonstrations to show his bloody intentions The young lieutenant made no cowardly appeals for mercy, yet expressed his surprise at the treatment thus extended to a wounded prisoner of war.

"You understand," said he, "that I have surrender-

ed, and you certainly cannot mean to kill me The immediate response to this was not heard by our informants, but they heard several of the rebels cry out, "Kill him! He's a d—d blue-bellied Yanker!

And where were you that you did not shoot the villains?" I inquired.
"We were cut off from our regiment," rep

one of my informants, "and were hiding in a thick clump of bushes, within a few yards of straggling bands of the enemy, and were watching a chance to make our escape. The least noise would have cost us our lives. Indeed, we expected every mo-ment to be discovered, and share the fate of our ment to be discovered, and share the fate of our comrade. Besides, one of our muskets was broken, so that we could have fired but a single shot staid till it was all over with poor Frank. He his best to defend himself; but his arms were held

the cowardly devils, while the infernal bucket with the bowie knife cut his throat, as near as we can judge, almost severing his head from his body!"

This is a difficult story to credit, and I should have listened to it with more of doubt than confidence, had not the tears and choked utterance of the narrators affertled strong a vidence of their sinthe narrators afforded strong evidence of their sin-cerity, and the truthfulness of their tale of butchery and blood .- Cor. Chicago Tribi

# The Herald of Progress,

ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS, EDITOR.